DEPENDENCE
OR THE
INSECURITY OF THE ANGLICAN POSITION

LUKE RIVINGTON

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BY THE

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PREFACE

THE immediate origin of the following pages will be found in Chapters I. and IX., in which I have replied to two attacks on my book, 'Authority.' To the other numerous notices and reviews of that volume, I have given no direct reply. The Catholic press gave it a warm welcome, which only needs grateful acknowledgment. The Anglican press has indulged in a great deal of vehement rejoinder, but without anything that I can call solid argument. Mr. Gore's attack has been met by Father Richardson's book, 'What are the Catholic 'Claims?'—to which I would refer any reader who wishes for a complete and concise reply to the arguments usually advanced in favour of their position by those who are called Ritualists.

The following pages deal with the historical argument, which once seemed to me sound, but which I have here endeavoured to show does not support the Anglican position.

I wish to add to Chapter VII., on Henry VIII., that, in speaking of that king as possessed of a strong will, I must not be understood to speak of him as a strong character. The very reverse seems to be the truth. But

when once his passions were enlisted in a cause, he could be determined, even to madness, for the time being.

A book has recently appeared on 'The Petrine Claims,' by Dr. Littledale, which contains, so far as I can see, nothing new, but which seems to me to mark an epoch in this controversy, and for this reason. The 'Society 'for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge,'—the most representative society in the Church of England, with the archbishops and bishops for its patrons—publishes this work 'under the direction of its Tract Committee,' and it is dedicated, *with permission*, to Bishop Stubbs. And this, after a previous publication by the same writer has been so thoroughly discredited.

This book opens with a statement which, with some, will surely suggest a different line of thought from what the writer intended. A building 'planned, in part at least, 'by Pope Leo I. more than fourteen hundred years ago' (p. 1) must have more to say for itself than is to be found in this book. In point of fact, the writer proceeds in his second sentence to deliver himself of this shameful misrepresentation. He says that 'whatever within the 'sphere of faith and morals is found existing uncensured 'in the Latin Obedience, must be regarded as having the 'sanction of infallibility at its back.'

By what logical process can the writer show that the Vatican Decree involves the absurd position that the attribute of Infallibility is not merely possessed by the See of S. Peter, but that it is exercised in every nook and corner of the world, on every sheet of paper that issues from the press? What Catholic ever maintained such an absurdity? and what are we to think of a grave society like the S. P. C. K. endorsing and disseminating such a

misrepresentation, after all that has been written on the subject?

On the second page, the writer has the hardihood to quote Innocent III., when speaking of 'the Roman 'Church'—*i.e.* the local Roman Church—as though he were using the term in its modern sense, as used by the writer of the book.

The last chapter, on the Collapse of the Papal Succession, besides its misrepresentation of canon law, contains a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Anglican position. It is amazing that a responsible society should set its seal to such misapplied ingenuity.

One may well ask, Is it on this line of argument that the Church of England places its 'dependence'?

I conclude with the remark that the following pages are the fruit of a conviction, deep beyond words, that no blessing that a human soul can receive is so great as that of entrance into communion with the See of S. Peter, except, and by reason, of the graces to be found when within. The writer would take for his own the words of those who had discovered plenty outside the gates of Samaria, 'We do not well: this day is a day of good 'tidings, and we hold our peace.' 'I believed, and 'therefore have I spoken.'

S. Charles College, Notting Hill, London, W.
May 1889

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.

Favourite subject with Anglicans, 7—The Author of the 'Roman 'Question' selects a single sentence and ignores the rest of my treatment of S. Chrysostom's evidence, 9–11—He contends also that S. James *must* be meant when S. Chrysostom speaks of someone being 'entrusted with the chief rule,' 11–14—But the position occupied by S. Peter generally, and in particular at the Council of Jerusalem, is, according to S. Chrysostom, one of authority, 14–27—Mistake of Symeon for Simon Peter, 27–28—Summary of errors contained in the pamphlet, 29.

CHAPTER II.

'PETER HATH SPOKEN BY LEO.'

Importance of the Council of Chalcedon, 35–37—Preliminary history—S. Leo defines the Faith, 39—The Robber Synod—S. Leo anxious for a Council—teaches the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Emperor—deprecates immediate Council, but consents, 40—The Synod assembles—Bows to Leo at once, 41—Why S. Cyril mentioned, 42—Leo's Tome not reviewed for revision, 42–44—The Council's sentence on Dioscorus owns the authority of the Holy See, 45—S. Cyril's name joined with S. Leo's, why, 47—Emperor puts S. Leo's Tome side by side with the Nicene Faith, 48—Relationship of Rome to S. Peter, 49.

CHAPTER III.

THE CANON INVALIDATED.

Constantinople's ambition, 51, 52—The 28th Canon of Chalcedon, its expression, 54, 55—The Papal confirmation deemed necessary, 56, 57—Leo acted on the ground of his relationship to S. Peter, 57–60—Canon Bright's account unsupported, 61—Mr. Gore's citation of the Council in Trullo, 62–64.

CHAPTER IV.

LIBERIUS, THE CONFESSOR.

Anglican writers on Liberius, 65, 66—Canon Bright's admission, 67—Contemporary opinion on Liberius, 68—Sozomen's account untrustworthy, 69—Passage from S. Jerome needs authentication, 70—Passage from S. Athanasius fairly doubted, 71—Liberius a great Confessor, 72—Difficulties of supposing any lapse, 73–76.

CHAPTER V.

HONORIUS DECLINING TO DEFINE.

Our Lord's human will, 77—Honorius entrapped by Sergius—Monothelism combated by successive Popes, 80—Sixth Council condemned Honorius for lack of vigilance, 81, 82—The inerrancy of the Holy See in *ex cathedrâ* judgments assumed, 86.

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER VI., THE POLITICAL ECCLESIASTIC.

Use made of Alexander's life, 88, 89—The Homilies of the Church of England, 91—Burchard's account of Alexander, 93-96—Guicciardini's account of Alexander, 96—Lucretia Borgia, 98-100—State of things at Alexander's election, 101–103—Alexander's daily life as Pope, 103, 104—No adequate proof of his election having been simoniacal, 104–108—The Popes of the 16th century, their greatness, 110—Alexander's relation to the Papacy not that of Barlow's to the Anglican succession, 113.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY VIII., THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICIAN.

The Royal supremacy a *doctrine*, 115–117—Involved a fundamental change, 118—Which broke the continuity between the pre-Reformation and the post-Reformation Establishment, 119–124—The new status not desired by the clergy, 126–130—The king's divorce, the real cause shown by contemporary evidence, 130–134

CHAPTER VIII.

ELIZABETH AND HER CLERGY.

The old religion abolished by force, 135–139—Ecclesiastical jurisdiction taken over by the queen, 141—No diocesan bishops consented to Archbishop Parker's election, 143—The case of Coverdale, 145—The Province in prison, 147—Goldwell, Bishop of S. Asaph, 148—The Queen's exercise of jurisdiction, 149—The fruit of this later on in the case of Archbishop Abbott, 151—Its immediate results, 152–156.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DECLINE OF DOGMA.

Changed attitude of English Churchmen towards Rome, 157—Declension in zeal for Dogma, 158–161—Misrepresentations of the 'Church Quarterly Review,' 161–164—Reviewer's accusation of ignorance unfounded, 165—His *ignoratio elenchi*, 166—His instances of change of teaching: (1) M. Nicolas speaks of no laxity in the teaching body, 168—(2) Father Clarke's articles reveal no rift, but the contrary, 170—(3) M. Le Noir's article most decided on the subject of hell, 173—In the Catholic Church, belief in hell (1) rests on authority, 178—(2) is balanced by authoritative teaching on Purgatory, and Masses for the dead, 179.

CHAPTER X.

PUSEY AND LAUD.

Extraordinary dependence placed on Dr. Pusey, 182—Accounted for by (1) his piety, 183—(2) his chivalry, 184—(3) his industry, 185—His mistakes as to the African Church, Mr. Allies' book, and Archbishop Chichele, 185–189—In controversy with Rome, he loses his accuracy, 191—His erroneous theory of the Church's note of unity, 192—The Vatican decree not affected by his instances of Papal contradictions, 200—His errors as to the Immaculate Conception of our Lady, 204—Especially as to Turrecremata, 212—Archbishop Laud's misrepresentation of S. Augustine, 214.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LINCOLN PROSECUTION, OR METROPOLITICAL JURISDICTION.

Circumstances under which the Bishop of Lincoln is prosecuted, 218—Must be some authority superior to the Archbishop, 220—Rome *was* owned as superior, 221—Now it is said that a Province can be autonomous, and Africa is quoted as an instance, 224—The case of Africa considered, in the days of S. Augustine, 225—The present position of the Anglican Establishment, 233—Toleration of contradictory teaching incompatible with the idea of a Church, 236.

APPENDIX ON S. JEROME'S LETTER TO EVAGRIUS . . 239

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

A VERY influential writer in the Church of England has lately challenged my accuracy with respect to the translation in my book on 'Authority' of a passage in S. Chrysostom's writings. His pamphlet is entitled 'A Reason for Distrusting the Rev. Luke Rivington's 'Appeal to the Fathers.' I have devoted a chapter (Chap. I.) to the consideration of this pamphlet, and have, I hope, shown sufficient cause for rebutting the accusation. But there is another point raised in this writer's pamphlet, to which I have only partially replied in that chapter. And it is on this point that I wish to make some introductory remarks.

The writer considers that from that single sentence in my book he can discern the 'workings of my mind 'at a great crisis.' Were it not that the writer's name is such an open secret, and that his position of esteem in the Church of England gives a peculiar weight to his words, I should not have thought it worth while taking further notice of these words.

As it is, I feel constrained to protest, even more than I have done below (Chap. I.) that the single incident to which he refers as giving the clue to the workings of my mind at a great crisis, was of infinitely less importance than two other points.

One of these, as I have said elsewhere, was the History of the Council of Chalcedon. None of my reviewers have

attempted to answer my argument on that head. One of them, in an article which I forbear to characterise, except to say that I have never seen a more thoroughly unrestrained mode of writing (I mean the 'Literary Church-'man') even deliberately asserts that I did not write that portion of my book myself. How a paper, whose title contains in it the word 'Church,' can deliberately utter such a falsehood, I am at a loss to understand. I wrote every word of it myself in complete solitude. It contained the reason which finally weighed with me, so far as my intellectual conversion was concerned. I do not see how any member of the English Church can reconcile his position with the history of the Council of Chalcedon. Let him read, for instance, Cardinal Newman's brilliant summary of that Council, or Mr. Allies' account of S. Leo in his 'Throne of the Fisherman,' or Bishop Hefele's account of the Council in his 'History of Church Councils,' not to mention any longer accounts, and then let him say to himself, 'Is the attitude of the Church of England 'towards the See of Rome in any way capable of being 'reconciled with the principles of Church life which we 'find in vogue at the Council of Chalcedon?' But I have added a few thoughts on this subject in a separate chapter (Chap. II.), and therefore I proceed to a second point, in reference to what the author of the 'Roman 'Question' calls the workings of my mind at a great crisis.

I have said that my *ultimate convictions* were not in the least due to the incident concerning the Oxford translation of S. Chrysostom, but *to the further investigations which I was led to make.*

But this is not all, and I am most anxious to take the opportunity of saying something further in consequence of what the author of the 'Roman Question' has said.

The passage which he has selected for his quotation from my book contains another reason for my action.

I did not give this in full, as indeed I should have preferred giving no hint at all as to such matters, only circumstances compelled me. I have said that God gave me light, and that that light came through the study of a particular passage of the Church's life—not, I hope, to the neglect of other passages, but with special emphasis on that. This is strictly true. But if this had been all, doubtless I should not have acted on that light—I should have dallied with my conviction, waited, and tampered with this grace; pretended that one needs many more years to settle the simple question as to which is God's Church; thought it humility to doubt my capacity to settle such a question at all; listened to the voice of affection, pleading for the enjoyment of all the ties, and all the esteem, and the many pleasant features of life, which were then mine; and, above all, perhaps I should have fallen back on the idea that because I found myself where I was in God's Providence, I ought to remain there—reasons, plausible reasons, one and all of which, however, every Apostle had to set at nought, and without the disregard of which, no heathen could ever enter the Christian fold. Why did I not listen to these plausible suggestions? I expressly excluded the following incident from my book, but the author of the 'Roman Question' by pretending that the passing incident to which he refers explains 'the working of my mind at 'a great crisis,' compels me to speak.

I had, then, been coming to a gradual conclusion on another matter. Years ago I began to ask our Lady's intercession, and shortly after that I went up to see Cardinal Newman, to be received. But I was diverted from my purpose. That grace was lost to me through giving in to the temptation to *wait*. I was dissuaded from all invocation of the Saints by three most trusted divines in the Church of England. In 1887–8, however,

I read again on the subject, and in the end of January 1888 I came to the conclusion that in repudiating the Invocation of the Saints we had denied an article of the Faith. East and West—I mean the schismatic East, as well as the Church in communion with Rome—were at one on this point. Whether M. Podedonostzeff, who replied to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lambeth Conference, would consider it right to hold communion with the Anglican Establishment in spite of this, I do not know. When things are managed by a Procurator, there is no knowing what the schismatic East might say or do. But the Patriarch of Constantinople, in correspondence with Archbishop Tait, pointed out the passage in the Thirty-nine Articles on the Invocation of Saints as 'savouring of novelty.' Certain it is that, in all her Liturgies and authorised prayers, the Eastern schism holds fast to the doctrine of the Invocation of Saints. And yet I had been silent to the Saints for years. I had not spoken to our Lady for at least seventeen years. I held that no honest member of the Anglican Church could invoke her aid. I know that Dr. Pusey said that 'we' should not object to the 'Ave Maria' or 'Ora pro nobis' in itself. But, as a matter of fact, he discouraged its use, and I did the same. It became clear to me, however, that this was wrong, and on the Feast of her Purification I knelt down and entreated the aid of her intercession in this matter of allegiance to the Holy See. I entreated her to win for me, by her glorious intercession, light and courage, for I knew that if I read things one way I should need courage to act on my convictions. I rose from my knees with both. The light which our Lord then gave me was too clear to make extraordinary courage needful, or, rather, it was that light which, coming straight from Him, is accompanied by the warmth of divine love, and to love, nothing is difficult.

Now I mention this because an important principle is at stake in discussing the question of the reasonableness of submission to the See of S. Peter. It is, I hold, capable of rigorous proof that such submission is infinitely more reasonable than attachment to the Church of England. But the act of submission belongs to the supernatural, and anyone who discusses the question, as though it could be settled by human reason, is deluding his fellow-creatures. Reason is equal to seeing that the religious body in communion with the See of S. Peter alone has the notes of a Church. But something more is required than the perception of this. Entrance into the Church is, as the Holy Father said to me last Easter Day, 'a special grace.' I added within myself, 'Yes, 'and it is not of him that runneth, but of GOD that showeth 'mercy' (Rom. ix. 16). I say this because often the last temptation with which the Evil One plies the soul is the suggestion, '*You* are not worthy.' No, indeed, and God often calls those who seem the least worthy of His grace. It is the mystery of predestination.

It is, therefore, in vain that Anglicans endeavour to fathom the mystery of a call into the Catholic Church. God calls 'things that are not' [*i.e.* that are thought to be nothing] 'to bring to nought things that are.' He calls a Matthew or a Magdalen, and renders us no account of the reason of His call. He calls them often to leave all at once—some, indeed, to go bury their father—but others to let the dead bury their dead, and to follow the call. We who are called can least of all explain why we are. We can see that certain arguments, or facts, or reasons on which we once rested, have no value. But why we see this so plainly we cannot say. We have to give a reason for the hope that is in us, and we can give it. But something we cannot explain. We only know 'the 'Spirit bloweth where it listeth.' We are bound to explain

to others that their arguments do not hold, that their defences are insufficient, and that they ought, in good reason, to follow in the same track ; but that is all we can do, save to pray ; and the Lord, who opened the heart of Lydia that she attended to the things spoken by Paul, may work the same in the hearts of those whom we address. 'Therefore judge nothing before the time' (1 Cor. iv. 5).

CHAPTER I.

THE COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.

Καὶ ὅρα ὅπερ ἔχρην νομοθετηθῆναι ὅτι οὐδὲν φυλάττειν τὸν νόμον, ὁ Πέτρος εἰσήγαγε· τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον, καὶ πάλαι παραδεχθὲν τοῦτο οὗτός φησι. And notice that what had to be enacted as law, viz. that we have not to keep the law, Peter introduced. But the domestic practice, and what had been handed down of old, this he (James) speaks of.—S. CHRYSOSTOM.

THERE are few subjects to which an English High Churchman turns more readily than to the Council of Jerusalem. Travelling some years ago to the South of India for two days and two nights on a stretch, I had for my companion, during part of my journey, a native priest. His white cassock, red cincture, red biretta, and dark face, for he belonged to the South, formed a perfect picture. Add to that, the exquisite politeness of the Hindu, with that dash of energy which comes from 'the 'spiritual washing,' the Tamil name for Baptism. It was not long before we were in conversation on religious matters. I remember registering an inward vow that I would do nothing to disturb that good man's faith. I thought that in controversy I was sure of having the best of it. But this good priest's zeal could not resist endeavouring to show me that if I held as much truth as I did, I ought to hold more, and to hold it all on a different basis. Our conversation soon turned on the Council of Jerusalem. This good man, as night came on,

lit his lamp, and produced his Bible, and we compared notes, he with his Vulgate translation of S. James's word, judico, 'I judge'—I, with my English translation, 'Wherefore my sentence is.' It seemed to him perfectly astonishing, as a mere matter of common sense, that I did not see that the prominent position in the Council was held by S. Peter, and that the expression S. James used was what any member of the Council might use, as they severally gave their judgment on the subject in hand. He closed the Sacred Volume, saying, with the most perfect courtesy, something to the effect that it is an easy matter to twist the Scripture.

There are texts which haunt some minds in their spiritual life. And there are texts, and sometimes one by itself, that return and greet you, in various ways, at the various turns of your life. This text has just been dealt with in the pamphlet to which I have referred, called 'A Reason for Distrusting the Rev. Luke Rivington's 'Appeal to the Fathers.' That pamphlet selects a certain passage from my book on 'Authority,' in which the passage of Holy Scripture concerning the Council of Jerusalem is dealt with, and its contention is that my words in reference to it, viz., this passage, show the
p. 3. 'workings' of my mind 'at a great crisis,' and that at that crisis I made a great mistake about S. Chrysostom's belief as to the supremacy of S. Peter, especially as to
p. 6. his position at the Council of Jerusalem in relation to S. James.

In this chapter, therefore, I propose to deal with this said pamphlet by the author of the 'Roman Question'; and, in the course of my remarks on it, with the Council of Jerusalem itself.

With regard to the writer of the pamphlet I hope to show (1), that he has misrepresented me, and (2), that he has misinterpreted S. Chrysostom.

A Personal Matter.

1st. *My critic has misrepresented me.*—He has quoted a page of my book which is introduced to explain one, and only one thing, as though it explained something else.

I have there stated that I was started on a certain field of inquiry by an incident which occurred in my missionary life in India. I had quoted a passage from the translation of S. Chrysostom in the Pusey Library of the Fathers against a Catholic bishop, and I discovered afterwards that a certain assumption was made in that translation through the insertion of a word not in the original text. The assumption was that a certain pronoun necessarily referred to a particular person; for the person's name was substituted for the said pronoun *without note or comment.* This was the gist of my discovery. A sentence also was transposed. My plain contradiction to the said Bishop's contention was based on the substitution of the name for the pronoun, and this substitution is (no doubt unintentionally) rendered plausible by the transposition of the sentence.

But it was not on this passage that I based my belief as to S. Chrysostom's teaching on S. Peter's primacy. *I have never said this.* My critic has made it appear (p. 5) as if I did, by adding the last sentence he quotes from me, as though it related to what had gone before, instead of to that which follows. After relating the incident and the mistake in the Oxford translation, I say 'Indeed, &c.' which marks a transition to something that is *coming.* In the next sentence, which my critic refuses to quote (although I had drawn his attention to it in correspondence), I say, 'I would ask anyone who reads 'this letter, seriously to weigh the following account of

'Authority p. 61.

'S. Chrysostom's teaching.' There is not a word in my critic about this 'following account.' Yet it is there that I give my reasons for holding that S. Chrysostom understood S. Peter to act on this, as on all occasions, as the Head of the Church under Christ. It is, then, distinctly unfair to take a portion of my personal narrative only, and to give people to understand, as the writer does on page 9, that I based my teaching as to S. Chrysostom's belief in the supremacy of S. Peter, on this disputed passage. Indeed he goes further; for he says, 'Mr. 'Rivington rests his case on a single sentence, not regard-'ing the context.' Why, I have given the context, *when I come to my proof!* the context including, what my critic deliberately (without rhyme or reason that I can see) excludes, viz. the previous Homily! I know not how to characterise this method of dealing with an author. I particularly asked my readers 'seriously to weigh' the account that followed; and it extends over *fourteen pages of careful reasoning*, in the course of which I deal with the Council of Jerusalem. The worst of it is, that I had already pointed this out to the writer in a private correspondence, and I have seldom been more surprised in my life than when I read his amazing misstatement of my own argument repeated in a public accusation. Why omit that to which I drew attention as the real proof, and substitute a passage used in controversy with a Roman Catholic Bishop which I was careful to say merely started me on my path of inquiry, but by no means supplied the material for my ultimate conviction?

I have a right to complain of this. When I say, 'Indeed, I do not see how it is possible to mistake S. 'Chrysostom's belief in the supremacy of S. Peter as 'being identical with the teaching of Rome to-day,' and proceed to say, 'I would ask anyone who reads this 'letter, seriously to weigh the following account of S.

'Chrysostom's teaching,' it is contrary to all rules of justice to take another parenthetical passage, introduced for a different purpose, and, on the strength of that, to endeavour to discredit my appeal to the Fathers. And again, how could the writer have written what he has, if he had carefully marked what I have actually said about the passage with which I shall now proceed to deal?

For I have nowhere said that the crucial words, 'invested with the chief rule,' apply to S. Peter. I have observed a certain restraint in dealing with the passage, and have spoken merely of a possibility. What I reprehended was the Oxford translator's settling the question by merely putting 'James' without further ado. Here then I might leave the question—with this simple statement—that my critic is dealing not with my argument, but with his own misrepresentation of it.

2ndly. *My critic has misinterpreted S. Chrysostom.* He sets out to prove that at the Council of Jerusalem, S. James held the office of 'presiding judge,' 'having 'there the chief rule,' and that S. Peter (to use his own words) was 'in a position of inferiority.' He considers that S. Peter was 'primus inter pares' amongst the Apostles, *by divine appointment* (p. 16); but that his Primacy did not include the Presidency of the Council. And this he considers to be involved in what S. Chrysostom says in his account of the Council of Jerusalem. In the writer's translation S. Chrysostom says, 'And see, after Peter Paul speaks, and none chides 'him. James waits patiently and does not start up. For he '(ἐκεῖνος) had been invested with the chief rule. Nothing 'speaks John, nothing the other Apostles.'

My contention was, that the pronoun 'he' (being the word in Greek which, when two people are contrasted, often means the more remote, or the first-mentioned of the two, and usually refers to the most prominent per-

son or thing, being a pronoun of emphasis) *may* in the above sentence, *quite naturally refer to Peter*. My critic contends that it *cannot* refer to any other save James.

I may remark, in passing, that, supposing for the moment that the words, 'he was invested with the chief 'rule' refer to S. James's position at the Council, and to his relationship to the rest of the Apostles, as my critic contends, the question still remains, by whom was he thus invested? It could not have been expressly by our Lord: it could only have been by the rest of the Apostles. Was it, then, so *arranged by the Apostles with 'Peter at their head*,' i.e., as Holy Scripture so often calls 'the Apostolic band, by 'Peter and those that were with 'him'? In this case the Anglican contention would gain nothing by this passage.

But I proceed to show that it is in the highest degree unlikely that S. Chrysostom meant 'James' when he said 'he (emphatic) was invested with the chief rule;' but that, on the contrary, it is at least true, as I have said in the passage from my book on 'Authority' for which my critic arraigns me, that it 'may quite naturally refer to S. Peter.' Be it noted, then, that if the *mere possibility* of its referring to S. Peter is established, the whole of my critic's contention falls to the ground, and the 'distrust' with which he would inspire the public as to myself must be transferred. My original quarrel with the Oxford translation was not for its saying that this emphatic pronoun MAY refer to S. James, but for assuming that it MUST, and therefore giving no hint that S. Chrysostom, instead of using the word 'James,' had used a certain pronoun. And the author of the 'Roman Question' has reduced the matter to this simple issue.

Now, in the first place, the words, 'For he was in-'vested with the chief rule,' must explain something. If they refer to James what do they explain? 'James waits

'patiently and does not start up. For "*he*" had been 'invested with the chief rule.' How can his having been invested with the chief rule explain his not getting up to speak? We shall see that if it refers to S. Peter, it gives a good reason.

Secondly, will anyone venture to say that a pronoun which so often refers to a person more remote, and is generally emphatic, *cannot here* be quite naturally referred to S. Peter or S. Paul, who are the more remote persons mentioned! It is used once in this very Homily for the more remote of two persons.

It is, therefore, impossible to say that the said pronoun necessarily, as my critic, or 'without any doubt' as Mr. Gore, asserts, refers to S. James. Such reference renders the insertion of the sentence meaningless, and is *not forced upon us* by the word used. And so, thirdly, it is to *the wider context* that we must look to determine the reference. And that context we shall see furnishes us with good reason for referring the words, 'for *he*' (that one) 'was invested with the chief rule,' to S. Peter. But the immediate context suggests at least the possibility of reference to Peter. For the gist of the previous sentence is that S. Peter's speech had secured to S. Paul a hearing which the animosity against him would not have permitted. Hence S. Peter is really the prominent subject of the sentence, and consequently the particular Greek pronoun would most naturally refer to him.

'R. C. Claims,' p. 79.

I conceive, then, that I am well within the mark when I said that the emphatic pronoun 'may quite naturally 'refer to S. Peter;' and that my critic is mistaken in urging that the said pronoun *cannot* refer to anyone but S. James. And this being so, the Oxford translator was not justified in simply translating the pronoun ἐκεῖνος by the word 'James' without note or comment.

My critic seems to have been misled by the words

in a following paragraph which he translates 'in high 'authority,' and which he looks upon as an allusion to the words 'chief rule.' The former, however, seems to me precisely the expression S. Chrysostom would use of S. James, if he was thinking of his *relationship to the converts of Jerusalem*, and precisely the word that he would *not* use of his relationship to his brother-Apostles. Whereas the expression, 'entrusted with the lead' (the true meaning of ἀρχή in these Homilies) is precisely, as we shall see, S. Chrysostom's expression for S. Peter.

But to understand why the expression not only *may* quite naturally refer to S. Peter, which is all that I maintained in my book on 'Authority,' but also *is most* naturally referred to him, as I am prepared to show, it will be necessary to describe the situation. And so many Anglicans seem to misapprehend the whole passage in Holy Scripture relating to the Council of Jerusalem, that it will be advisable to enter somewhat into detail.

The Council of Jerusalem.

The greatest difficulty with which the Apostolic age had to deal was now in full play. The old Jewish converts could not realise that the Law had so entirely passed away as that no necessity remained for the observance of its peculiar precepts. They would have welcomed Gentiles into the fold, but only on condition of their observing certain parts of the Ceremonial Law. S. Paul's teaching and practice offended their notions of what was due to the Mosaic observances. They specially objected that he was not in concert with the older Apostles, such as S. Peter and S. James.

S. Paul, under special inspiration from our Lord, decided to go up to Jerusalem (Gal. ii.). He had already, fourteen years before, been to visit S. Peter.

On that visit S. Chrysostom is most eloquent; as he is on their subsequent contention. There he insists on the perfect agreement between S. Peter and S. Paul in the matter of τὸ κήρυγμα (the doctrine). He insists upon it that the contention between S. Peter and S. Paul argued no inferiority on the part of S. Peter; but that, on the contrary, the scene was arranged by S. Peter himself to take place publicly. By this means his more difficult subjects, for whom he feared (as S. Chrysostom says) lest they should apostatise, would be encouraged to give in on seeing the public adoption by him of S. Paul's line of conduct, which he considered the best. And by way of emphasising the superiority of S. Peter to S. Paul, he mentions, amongst other things, S. Paul's visit to S. Peter, as showing his estimate of his position. So here S. Paul goes up to Jerusalem, not to all the Apostles, but the three who were in a position of special authority, if one may so speak, as 'pillars.' These three, S. Chrysostom says, were S. Peter, S. James, and S. John: but he adds that S. Peter and S. James were, again, in a peculiarly prominent position there. S. Peter had been 'entrusted' (it is the very word which occurs in our disputed passage) 'with the Jews;' and S. James was Bishop of Jerusalem; S. Peter with the higher range of duty; S. James in 'high authority,' but not with the chief rule. Their sphere of special work was so far conterminous that S. Peter had a special relation to the Jewish converts, as being what S. James was not, the Apostle of the circumcision, and these including S. James's flock.

Hom. in fac. rest.

A meeting was held at Jerusalem to welcome S. Paul and S. Barnabas. It was probably at this meeting that it was found how perfectly at one they all were in their dogmatic teaching as to the relation of the Law to the Gospel. They added nothing to S. Paul in the way of

instruction and information: there was nothing to add (see Lightfoot on Gal. ii.).

The fifth verse probably relates not to this meeting, but to immediately subsequent action.

There was then a second meeting, at which it was probably decided that S. Peter should deal with the dogmatic question, on which we know from Gal. ii. the Apostles were perfectly at one; and S. James was to announce the disciplinary enactment which would wind up the proceedings—not quite (as the Oxford translation of S. Chrysostom's Homily has it) 'the matter 'under discussion,' for it is plural; but rather, the proceedings, the business. For S. James was not implicated in the disputes that had arisen, but was well known for his adherence to the old Law, and, from being Bishop of JERUSALEM, would be a special authority with these troubled and troubling Judaizers. Although not, as S. Peter was, entrusted with, or invested with, the rule over the whole body of Jewish converts he was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, where the Temple was, with all the associations of that once holy city.

Verse 7 is thought to give the account of a third meeting, when the multitude (*v.* 12) was also present, for in *v.* 6 it looks rather as though the Apostles and elders were by themselves.

But whether the second or the third meeting, it was the occasion for S. Peter to come to the front.

Who, then, was S. Peter according to S. Chrysostom?

Much depends on this.

S. Peter was 'the mortal man' 'to whom our Lord 'entrusted (ἐνεχείρισε) the power over all things in heaven 'when he gave him the keys.'

Hom. on Mt. xvi.

He it was of whom (perhaps in the previous Lent at Antioch) S. Chrysostom had spoken as the 'head of the

'choir or band, so that, on that account, even Paul went 'up to see him rather than, or beyond, the rest.' This S. Chrysostom says in order to account for our Lord passing by the others, and addressing His question 'Lovest thou 'Me?' to Peter. This is he of whom, in the same passage, S. Chrysostom speaks as having been 'entrusted with 'the presidency of the brethren,' which he says explains his asking about S. John's future. This is he to whom our Lord 'entrusted the world' (again the same word as is translated 'invested with' in the disputed passage); he it is whose tears had washed away his denial 'in order 'that he might become the first of the Apostles, and be 'entrusted' (again the same word) 'with the whole world;' and again in another Homily this beautiful preacher of the restorative power of penitence says that the 'power 'of tears' brought him back again to his former honour, and 'entrusted him' (again the same word) 'with the 'presidency over the œcumenical Church,' 'and, what is 'more than all, showed him to us as having a greater love 'to the Lord than all the Apostles.'

Hom. 88 in Joann.: παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους

Hom. 8. adv. Judæos.

Hom. v. de Pœn.

This is he of whom the Saint says, 'Why did he shed 'His blood? That he might win these sheep, whom He 'entrusted' (*ἐνεχείρισεν*, the same word again) 'to Peter 'and those after *him*.' The pronoun here is the same emphatic one as is used in the disputed passage: *διὰ τί καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεεν; ἵνα τὰ πρόβατα κτήσηται ταῦτα, ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισεν.* Cf. the disputed passage *ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος.*

Hom. de Sacerd. l. ii. c. 1.

Omitting several similar notices, this is he, again, who was 'entrusted with the presidency over the Jews.' He was 'the master,' the term S. Chrysostom so often applies to our Lord. This is he of whom S. Chrysostom says that 'If John, if James, if Paul, if any other whatsoever, 'appear doing anything great after this, still this Peter is 'beyond them all.'

Hom. in faciem.

ibid.

Hom. in faciem.

S. Paul considered himself, S. Chrysostom tells us, the servant 'not only of Peter, *the head of all those saintly* 'men, but of all the Apostles,' and he 'knew what great 'precedency (προεδρία)[1] Peter was to enjoy.'

These are but a few of the passages which I have noted; but they are sufficient to show how S. Chrysostom, who constantly uses that particular pronoun, with its special emphasising power, of S. Peter, naturally adds to S. Peter's name, that it was he who was entrusted with a peculiar charge, beyond the rest.

A bishop, according to S. Chrysostom, (Lib. ii. De Sacerd.), has an opportunity of showing his love to our Lord similar to that which S. Peter enjoyed. S. Peter, through the exercise of his office, was to be empowered *to surpass the rest of the Apostles*. And so a bishop, in the exercise of his, was to be able to surpass *other Christians*. He was to be set over all the things of God, not merely bodily concerns, but the interests of the soul, and thus could exhibit greater love: ταῦτα πράττων, ἃ καὶ τὸν Πέτρον ποιοῦντα ἔφησε δυνήσεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑπερακοντίσαι τοὺς λοιπούς. S. Chrysostom continually contrasts S. Peter with the other Apostles.

And now how has S. Chrysostom already spoken of S. Peter in these very Homilies?

He has *already* used a kindred expression of S. Peter to explain his action in the first gathering of the faithful after the Ascension. S. Peter, he tells us, 'acts first 'with authority in the matter, as having been *entrusted* 'with all of them' (same word as is translated 'invested'); for to him Christ said, 'And thou, one day having turned, 'strengthen thy brethren.' The brethren here are clearly, from the context, the Apostles.

Do we not already see what is S. Chrysostom's natural

[1] πρόεδρος is the word used of those who presided at any meeting in the Council of Nicæa.

epithet for S. Peter? And he speaks of him in the next sentence as constantly imitating the Master in not giving his own opinion so much as that of the Scriptures.

And continually (it must be read for it to be felt how continually) S. Chrysostom is praising S. Peter for the mildness with which he exercised his authority, though he could be forcible.

His very shadow did what our Lord's did not—'this' did not happen to the Christ'—it was an instance of the greater works which His own were to do.

And when he is in prison, the whole Church prays for him—and why? *περὶ τὰ καίρια λοιπὸν ἦν ὁ ἀγών*—'the struggle was now for the vital parts.' Now that S. Peter's life is in danger, the 'vitals' of the Church were being attacked. Then S. Chrysostom tells us that the 'headship' *in Jerusalem itself* lay with three, *i.e.* Peter, James, and John, but especially with Peter and James, S. Peter being the Apostle of the Circumcision, and S. James in the (clearly inferior) office of Bishop of Jerusalem.

And now we come to the Council of Jerusalem.

It is quite incorrect to say, as my critic does, that the Homily in question gives S. Chrysostom's explanation of what took place at the Council of Jerusalem (p. 6).

All his difficulties seem to me to arise from not having realised that S. Chrysostom devotes two Homilies—not one only—to this subject. Hence he misses the *proportion* in S. Chrysostom's teaching. He makes S. Chrysostom simply 'contrast' S. Peter and S. James, instead of, as he really does, also *likening* them to each other. The virtue which my critic seems to think is peculiarly ascribed to S. James, is, as a matter of fact, ascribed to S. Peter in the previous Homily, and S. James's exercise of it follows S Peter's. Now what part

does S. Peter take in the last of the meetings at Jerusalem? The Apostles (if we may trust Dr. Lightfoot's and Dr. Döllinger's opinion as to Gal. ii.), had already discovered their perfect unanimity on the doctrine. There was therefore no room for persuading *one another*.

What did S. Peter do?

Remember S. Peter is the one, according to S. Chrysostom's uniform teaching, who was 'entrusted with the Jews' (ἐγκεχειρισμένος, see p. 13) and again 'entrusted' (same word) 'with the presidency over the brethren,' and 'at the summit of all.' This, we have seen, is S. Chrysostom's ordinary epithet for S. Peter, in all his writings. It seems, if I may so say, to slip from his golden lips in season and out of season.

But there is another description of S. Peter, which S. Chrysostom begs us to bear in mind *all through*, and to which he frequently alludes in other writings. It gives an accident or consequence of his position. S. Peter is, with S. Chrysostom, the one who by virtue of his leadership *brings things in, who makes the commencement* in all conceivable circumstances.

In his commentary on the first chapter of the Acts he tells us that S. Peter 'as the one entrusted by Christ 'with the flock, as the first of the band, *always first begins* 'the speaking.' This is the Saint's description of him: 'He always begins, and that by virtue of his having been 'entrusted with the care of the flock'—the *one* flock. And even thus early he speaks of *S. James saying nothing, although he received the oversight* (*or episcopate*) *in Jerusalem*. That is to say, that S. Peter begins or opens the discussion *on every occasion* (ἄρχεται τοῦ λόγου), as having been entrusted with the flock, whilst S. James, although in high authority, is silent, because not in such high authority as S. Peter. 'Peter,' he says, 'begins as the 'very one entrusted with all' (ἅτε αὐτὸς πάντας ἐγχειρισθείς,

the very word for 'invested' in the disputed passage), 'for 'to him Christ said, "When thou art converted, strengthen 'thy brethren."'

But equally important is another passage in a separate work, where S. Chrysostom is pointing out S. Peter's superiority, in some sense, even to S. Paul. There, having said that S. Peter was the real author of the whole scene at Antioch, he says in reference to the Day of Pentecost, *οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτου μόνου ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑφ' ἑτέρων γενομένων ὀρθωμάτων οὗτος ἂν εἴη πάντων αἴτιος, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν εἴσοδον παράσχων.* Notice the word *ἀρχή*, which has the meaning of 'beginning' as proper to the leader; therefore *in all matters after the day of Pentecost* we are to look on Peter as the responsible 'cause of all,' and as the one who takes the lead and the initiation on every occasion. This is S. Chrysostom's favourite thought about S. Peter. We are now in possession, surely, of sufficient material for a decision.

What does S. Peter do at the Council? What does he do, who is *always* to be thought of, says S. Chrysostom, as the one entrusted with the flock, and as invested with the power of initiation?

I must repeat that it is idle of my critic to say that the 'following extracts from the Homily will show S. Chrysostom's statement 'of the whole matter.' We cannot justly gather S. Chrysostom's opinion as to the part borne by S. Peter and S. James respectively if we begin by eliminating the description of the part borne by S. Peter; which is what my opponent actually does. It is enough to state the idea to refute it. Now in the previous Homily, S. Chrysostom draws particular attention to one fact, viz. that S. Peter 'first allows the investigation' (*πρῶτον συγχωρεῖ ζήτησιν γενέσθαι*). That is precisely what we should expect. He who was entrusted with the flock always makes the beginning, is S. Chrysostom's dictum.

Who does not see that he accordingly at once places him in a unique position, and that, too, of authoritative initiation? 'He first permits the inquiry to be made.'

Then again, S. Chrysostom says that 'what was needful to be enacted as law, this Peter introduced.' There is exactly the same idea, that of authoritative initiation. S. Peter was the one entrusted with the Jews—this is S. Chrysostom's constant theme: and S. Peter was the one to initiate: this is S. Chrysostom's perpetual, emphatic, description of him. S. James had a special relation to the Jews in Jerusalem. He was, therefore, specially an authority with them. Accordingly he had to announce to them the disciplinary enactment, whilst S. Peter announced the dogmatic principle. Both acted in concert with the whole Apostolic College.

In order to recommend their principle with its practical application, S. James used the same mildness that Peter did on other occasions. S. Chrysostom speaks of S. Peter's mildness much oftener than he does of S. James's: though on this particular occasion S. James had the more delicate task of bringing his influence to bear on the Judaizing converts, who had refused to listen to S. Paul, and constantly accused him of being out of harmony (see Gal. ii.) with the other Apostles, especially S. Peter and S. James. Hence the way in which S. James emphasizes his own convictions, speaking of the disciplinary enactment as his own conviction, his own judgment, though, of course, in concert with 'Peter and the rest,' as S. Chrysostom says in the beginning of his Homily.

We can now see the true translation of the disputed passage.

The real subject is the *effect of S. Peter's speech on the multitude*. Before that speech they would not listen to S. Paul. After that speech all are silent: multitude, and Apostles, and all. S. Chrysostom's words are, 'After Peter

'Paul spake, and no one silences him. James waits 'patiently and does not start up. For he' (*i.e.*, that one whom I mentioned before, Peter, ἐκεῖνος) 'had been en- 'trusted with the lead': hence the silence of all.

If ἀρχή means simply rule, as, of course, it may, then it would most naturally still apply to Peter. But perhaps the best English equivalent for the word ἀρχή, in this passage, is really 'the lead,' for it seems most probable, from the description given of S. Peter by S. Chrysostom above, as the one entrusted with the Primacy, and therefore specially (as included in that) with the initiative on such occasions as the present, that it has special reference to that usual idea of his in connection with S. Peter, viz. 'beginning.' 'Nothing speaks John, nothing the other 'Apostles, but they are silent and think it no hardship. 'So clear was their soul from the love of glory.' This gives a real meaning to the whole passage in accordance with all S. Chrysostom's teaching. S. Peter, in his opening speech, speaking with authority, on the question of principle, had silenced the multitude. He had commenced with ruling that the Law was not to be kept as a matter of necessity.

S. James was silent here, just as, S. Chrysostom notices, he was on a previous occasion, and for the same reason, viz. the leadership and direction belonged to S. Peter. Presently he rises and deals with a disciplinary enactment. He expresses his judgment, and uses an expression which is exactly what ecclesiastics in Council would use. It in no way implies presidency. Thus γάρ is fully explained, and a frequent usage of ἐκεῖνος is assumed. And now, from want of careful study of the Homily—and I am entitled, from what I am going to show soon, to say this —my critic has missed the idea of the following paragraph.

S. Chrysostom now, as so often, recapitulates and reverts to the beginning of his Homily. He reminds

them of what he has commented on S. James's speech above.

He says: 'But let us see from the beginning what 'has been said.'[1] He had previously commented in full on S. James's speech, so he merely refers to it now, and gives it as an instance of the mildness which he has so often before, and even on this occasion in the previous Homily, praised in S. Peter and S. Paul. He then says, 'In com-'mencing, Peter spoke more strongly, it is true,' *i.e.* than he did afterwards. The translation given by the 'friend' is not exact. S. Chrysostom does not say, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Πέτρος, κ.τ.λ., but ἐξ ἀρχῆς σφοδρότερον μέν, which makes a difference. He then speaks of S. James speaking more mildly than S. Peter did when he began his speech, S. James being 'in high authority.' Authority over whom? Not over Apostles. This would be too strong an expression even for the Anglican theory. It is inconceivable that my critic, considering his words on p. 16, about S. Peter being 'primus inter pares,' *by a Divine appointment*, can suppose that S. James had authority over Apostles. S. James's authority was over the converts at Jerusalem.

The fact is (and it is from not seeing this that my critic's difficulties proceed) that the antithesis is between James and the Judaizers, not James and Peter. It is the Judaizers, not Peter, to whom S. James leaves τὰ φορτικά, by which term S. Chrysostom characterises the animosity they displayed, not permitting Paul to speak until Peter had somewhat subdued them. This sort of thing he does not yield to, but leaves it to others, if they will. It is ἑτέροις (not ἄλλοις), which could hardly apply to Peter, and the sentiment would be too unchristian, viz. that it is the part of one in high authority to leave

[1] It is not, as my critic translates, 'what was said before;' not τὰ ἄνω θεν εἰρημένα but ἄνωθεν τὰ εἰρημένα. There is a slight difference between the two.

the more trying part for others. The clause ἐξ ἀρχῆς is concessive, not antithetic. His contention is that the Apostles, unlike the Judaizers, were composed and conciliatory, as rulers should be. He feels obliged, however, to concede that S. Peter on the present occasion was a little heated, but excuses him on the plea that it was just 'at the commencement,' while he was indignant at the bad spirit of the Judaizers, implying that he toned down as he went on.

That this is his meaning seems clear from the fact, (1) that S. Peter is commended for that same mildness in the previous Homily, and also frequently in all the homilies on the Acts; (2) that the word τὰ φορτικά is too harsh to describe S. Peter's speech, especially in view of S. Chrysostom's estimate of it, *already given*; (3) that ἐν μεγάλῃ δυναστείᾳ is a phrase quite unintelligible as a description of S. James in relation to the Apostles, even if the Anglican theory were correct. It is too big a word for a mere president. S. James was Bishop of Jerusalem, and as such in high authority over those who lived in Jerusalem. He was their regular teacher, and identified with them in a way that the rest of the Apostles were not. My critic, on p. 6, by omitting a portion of S. Chrysostom's words, gives a slight turn to the first words he quotes. He makes S. Chrysostom say, 'This (James) 'was bishop, as they say, and therefore he speaks last.' He omits the words 'of the Church of Jerusalem,' with the result of implying that because he was bishop, he was president. The διὸ καὶ, we now see, must mean, 'He 'spoke last *as the representative of the Judaizers*.' It was his connection with them that determines his position. S. Peter had laid down the principle, S. Paul had testified to the outpouring of the Spirit on the Gentiles: it remained for the representative of the Judaizers to approach the subject from their side.

Again there is an inexactness in the translation directly after this. The Anglican translation runs (see p. 6): 'And indeed it is wisely ordered that this (the 'active) part is assigned to those,' &c. The word 'active' is, of course, an interpolation, and the interpolation is misleading. S. Chrysostom means to say, 'It was wisely 'arranged that those things which involved the new de- 'parture in regard to legal observance—viz. the action of 'Peter at Samaria (Acts x. 20) and of Paul at Antioch '(*ibid.* xv. 2) and elsewhere—should have fallen to the 'lot of Apostles who were not to be resident in Jerusalem, 'so that James who was teaching them (τὸν διδάσκοντα 'αὐτούς) could be without responsibility for what the 'other two had done, although he was at one with them 'in mind.' For thus S. James was better fitted to bring the Judaizers round. He was a *persona gratior* to them. He was Bishop of Jerusalem. Hence, after S. Peter has hushed the voice of controversy, so that S. Paul could be listened to, S. James performs the delicate task of announcing the less permanent, but more immediately practical part. What he said did not bind the Universal Church even at that time, and did not permanently bind even that portion to which it applied. It was the less important part.[1]

All this is in exact accord with S. Jerome's account. S. Jerome tells us that 'S. James and the elders gave 'consent to S. Peter's opinion.' My critic objects to my translating 'sententia' in S. Jerome by 'sentence,' as though it made the 'decree' S. Peter's; but, referring to the dogmatic part of the Apostles' decision, S. Jerome

[1] The expression 'and then again his authority (as bishop),' quoted p. 7 and alluded to p. 8, is not in the original. The words (as bishop) are the Anglican translator's, and the word for 'authority' possibly means judgment, or proposition, though it may mean 'the consideration in which he was held.'

goes on to call S. Peter 'princeps hujus decreti,' principal author, or initiator, of this 'decree.' Also Theodoret says, 'Paul, who was the herald of truth, the organ 'of the Holy Spirit, had recourse to the great Peter, in 'order to obtain from him a decision concerning the 'observances of the Law, for those who disputed at 'Antioch on this subject.'

Dr. Döllinger has accurately expressed the matter in his 'First Age of the Church':—

'The sentence of S. James could not but have great 'weight at that Synod, for S. Peter, like S. Paul, was in a 'manner a party concerned in the question. S. James, '*who with his community was so faithful to the Law*, was 'the best and most convincing judge in this strife . . . 'in that matter; and for persons who appealed unhesi-'tatingly to the example of the Mother Church' (notice this important explanation) 'the example of James had 'more weight than that of Peter, just as afterwards the 'Ebionites laboured to make his authority appear the 'highest in the Church.' It was a weakness on their part that they looked so much more to S. James, but so it was. But of S. Peter, Dr. Döllinger remarks: 'He was 'at the head, as always and everywhere else, in the 'assembly of Jerusalem, which freed the Gentiles from 'observing the ceremonial law: he opened it, and his 'motion was carried, with the conditions added by 'S. James.'

3. And now for the note. My critic quotes the note of a friend and adopts it on p. 8. And he speaks of S. Peter's 'less authoritative position,' a phrase which we have seen would have been altogether repudiated by S. Chrysostom. And he speaks of S. Chrysostom adding of S. Peter, that he speaks not 'his own mind,' but 'the mind of others,' and 'shows that this is a doc-'trine of old time.' p. 9.

And for this extraordinary statement he relies on his friend's note.

His friend writes, 'Whatever we may think of 'S. Chrysostom's comment on the use of ἐξηγήσατο, it is 'noteworthy that he should call attention to his opinion, 'that the "Head of the Church," instead of deciding the question on his own authority, expressed ἑτέρων γνώμην.'

I must call this 'gross carelessness,' for really it is nothing short of that.

Why, S. Chrysostom is speaking of Symeon, the author of Nunc Dimittis!

The friend must have discovered this if he had read the Homily through. It is strange that S. Chrysostom should so understand it. But so it is.[1] It needs care to interpret S. Chrysostom. But very little care indeed would have detected the fact that S. Chrysostom, in analysing S. James's speech, holds that he endeavoured to conciliate his Jewish converts by appealing first to Symeon in the Gospel of S. Luke and then to the older prophets. It never occurs to him that it is Simon Peter.

Thus my critic makes two mistakes.

1. He imagines that S. Chrysostom is speaking of the 'Head of the Church,' instead of the author of the Nunc Dimittis: and

2. He imagines that ἑτέρων γνώμη 'the mind of others,' means the Apostles', instead of its referring to Symeon, in his canticle, expressing the mind of the old prophets.[2]

[1] Perhaps S. Chrysostom would have said that in Holy Scripture the Apostle is invariably (with one doubtful exception) called Σίμων, not Συμεών. The doubtful exception is 2 Pet. i. 1. The *textus receptus* has Συμεών, and so, in consequence, had Chrysostom, in all probability, but ℵ, B read Σίμων.

[2] *i.e.* the expression 'light to lighten the Gentiles' being borrowed from the Old Testament. Cf. supra: Ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος (Συμεὼν) ἀπὸ μὲν χρόνου . . . ἐπάγει καὶ παλαιὰν προφητείαν.

I think I need say no more about this public attack on my accuracy. Surely this is sufficient to settle the question of trustworthiness.

Summary of the Argument.

Taking, then, the 'Reason for Distrusting Mr. Rivington's Appeal to the Fathers,' by the author of the 'Roman Question,' page by page, I note the following errors :—

1. On p. 1 he says: 'His (Mr. Rivington's) words 'in reference to it' (*i.e.* the above passage in S. Chryso-'stom) 'at least enable us to trace the working of his mind 'at a great crisis.' But the writer does not give more than one-seventh of my words on the subject he selects, and those the least important part, as it only concerns what suggested further inquiry, not what contains the grounds of my ultimate convictions. This I have expressly stated both in my book (p. 58) and in correspondence with its writer.

2. On p. 5 we read, 'The Homily alluded to . . . . 'gives S. Chrysostom's explanation of what took place 'at the Council of Jerusalem.' This is incorrect. The *previous* Homily gives all about S. Peter, which its writer omits, and without which it is impossible to understand the parts played by *S. Peter and* S. James respectively.

3. On p. 6 : 'The following extracts from the Homily 'will show S. Chrysostom's statement of the whole matter.' So far is this from being the case that the extracts omit an important sentence in which S. Chrysostom contrasts the functions of S. Peter and S. James, saying that 'what 'was to be enacted as law, this Peter introduced,' which considerably affects his teaching as to S. Peter's office in the Council.

τὸν διδάσκοντα αὐτούς.

4. On p. 6 the words 'Who performs the part of a 'teacher' is not a fair translation. S. Chrysostom is speaking of S. James as 'him who teaches them'—*i.e.* the people of Jerusalem—as their ordinary teacher. The translation would allow of its meaning that he was teaching the Council; and he omits S. Chrysostom's words 'of the Church of Jerusalem,' which omission gives a different turn to the meaning. Cf. *infra*, and he interpolates 'active' with the same result.

5. On p. 7: 'The matter under discussion' is a translation which conveys a false impression. It is τοῖς πράγμασι plural—the proceedings, the practical part.

6. To say, as on p. 8, that 'this account is clearly in 'accordance with Holy Scripture,' is an assumption; and, as we have seen, is not borne out by S. Chrysostom's comments.

7. On p. 9 it is said of S. Chrysostom that, 'He adds 'of S. Peter, that he speaks not his own mind, but the 'mind of others.' S. Chrysostom is speaking of Symeon, not of Simon Peter.

8. On p. 9 the writer says, 'Viewing thus the whole 'context,' but he has omitted one-half of S. Chrysostom's account of the Council, contained in the previous Homily.

9. On p. 10 the writer says, 'But Mr. Rivington rests 'his case on a single sentence, not regarding the context.' I know not how to characterise this assertion. I have taken *all the Homilies* on the Acts as the context. See my book 'Authority,' pp. 61–75. And why does he again omit the first word of my sentence, which shows that I am passing off to the proof, to which, *in the next sentence* I earnestly ask my readers to pay attention?

10. Again on p. 10 the writer says, 'But still this sen-'tence is so important and Mr. Rivington evidently views 'it as a test of the whole question, so that it ought to be 'considered alone and separate from all other parts of the

'Homily.' I know not what to say to such an assertion, except, again, that it is utterly devoid of foundation. I have laid no stress *whatever* on this sentence by itself, though I lay some stress on its *mistranslation*. As an Anglican controversialist I laid great stress on the sentence ; but in my book I have devoted fourteen pages to my proof as to S. Chrysostom's teaching on the primacy of S. Peter, and this sentence actually does not occur at all in that proof !

11. On page 10 the writer here admits that 'certain 'verbal transpositions' were made. But the 'verbal trans- 'positions' constitute a 'sentence,' which was my contention. He admits also that the word 'James' does not occur in the original, which again was my contention.

12. 'Simeon hath declared,' on page 11, ought to be (according to S. Chrysostom) 'Symeon interpreted'— referring to the aged Symeon, and (probably) to his exegesis of the prophet Isaiah in his canticle Nunc Dimittis.

13. The writer says, p. 12 : 'It will be seen how the '"he" follows immediately after the mention of S. James, 'and can refer to no other.' I venture to say that no Greek Lexicon in the world would assert that ἐκεῖνος *must* refer to the last-named person. And the reference to James makes the sentence meaningless.

14. There is a note to page 12 quoting S. Chrysostom's commentary on S. John xxi. 19, reminding us that there he 'again speaks of James receiving the 'chair of Jerusalem.' So he does. But in that passage S. Chrysostom speaks of S. James having received the chair at Jerusalem, as something less than S. Peter's charge. I do not think unfair quotation could well go beyond this ; for the question to which the writer has 'narrowed down' the consideration is the relationship

between S. Peter and S. James (see page 6). And here is the whole quotation, to which he says the reader may be referred :—

'He asks him (*i.e.* Peter) the third time, and the third time gives him the same injunction, showing at what a price He sets the presidency over His own sheep. And if anyone should say, How then did James receive the throne of Jerusalem? this I would answer, that He appointed this man (*i.e.* Peter) teacher, not of that throne, but of the world.' It is of these very words of our Lord that S. Chrysostom says elsewhere, that S. Peter by them was declared 'to have power and to go beyond 'the rest of the Apostles.'—*De Sacerd.* Lib. ii.

15. p. 13. It would have helped readers if it had been explained that at ἀλλ' ἴδωμεν a fresh recapitulation begins, after S. Chrysostom's usual fashion, and that it is not a continuation of the same paragraph. I can see no good reason for printing exactly that amount of the Homily only, unless it was to bring in Symeon, whom the critic mistook for Simon Peter.

16. p. 14. S. Chrysostom is not talking of the 'Head 'of the Church' at all, but of the author of Nunc Dimittis.

17. ἑτέρων γνώμην 'the mind of others,' refers to Symeon expressing the mind of the Prophets in his canticle Nunc Dimittis.

18. The writer gives my quotation from S. Jerome : 'S. James the Apostle and all the ancients adopted his 'sentence,' *i.e.* S. Peter's ; and says, 'But this is not really 'relevant to the question immediately at issue.' But it is important as showing S. Jerome's view of S. James's relation to S. Peter at the Council. He says, S. Jerome, in the letter referred to, 'is not speaking of 'his position at the Council in comparison of S. James.' But he calls S. Peter 'princeps hujus decreti,' and the decree is the very one passed at the Council ; he says

this in the very sentence which the writer proceeds to question, only the writer omits those words !

19. The writer compares S. Peter's relation to the rest of the Council to that of S. Athanasius to the Council at Nice. Such a comparison reveals a complete misunderstanding of the relation of the Apostles to each other in virtue of their personal infallibility. The Council at Jerusalem cannot be compared to any subsequent Council without *mutatis mutandis*.

20. On p. 16 the writer applies S. Paul's words (2 Cor. xi. 5), 'not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles' to Peter, James, and John ! But S. Paul uses a word which he would never apply to his fellow-Apostles. He is speaking of pseudo-apostles. He says in verse 13, 'Such are false Apostles.'

21. The writer announces a belief in S. Peter's primacy 'by a divine appointment,' but holds that it died with S. Peter.

This is Tertullian's creed after he became a heretic. It did not, however, in my critic's opinion involve even S. Peter's presidency or superiority at a Council ! He was, says this writer, in a position of inferiority there ! What *did* the primacy involve ? He would find it hard to say, I imagine. And so did I as an Anglican. I therefore for a long while held, as a more logical view, that S. Peter excelled the others in natural qualities only, although my critic says that I *never could*, as a High Churchman, have held such a view. There is no saying what a High Churchman can hold. It is a theory held to this day by Dr. Littledale in his 'Plain Reasons,' &c., and it seems as though on the whole it is held by Mr. Gore, though I should not like to commit myself to any definite assertion on that subject. p. 15.

Is it not strange that teachers in a religious body should be so vague on such an all-important question ?

It would be hard to discover what position the author of the 'Roman Question' would assign to S. Peter's successor. Bishop Watson tells us that the doctrine that the Pope is Antichrist is 'the pillar of the Reformation.' There can, I think, be no doubt that, but for that doctrine, England would never have been kept so long torn from her true mother.

When I saw that S. Peter had a primacy given to him by our Lord, it was not long before I saw that this meant that the visible Church was to have a visible head —a head, that is, in the same order of life, *i.e.* the visible. For a visible body without a visible head is not a visible body, the head being part of the body, and the most important part. Without it you have only a visible trunk. A head, that only lasted during the Apostles' times, seems of all doctrines the most strange. Certainly I never held that.

CHAPTER II.

'PETER HATH SPOKEN BY LEO.'

The Fathers of Chalcedon.

THE author of the pamphlet with which I dealt in the last chapter, describes himself as one of those who belonged to the original Tractarian movement, but who, instead of following in the steps of Newman and Manning, Allies and Coleridge, Christie and Oakeley and Faber, and Ward and Caswall, and a host of others, remained in the Establishment and 'has lived and worked on since they 'left us, upon the same lines which they taught us, still 'treasuring the tone and spirit in which they wrote as 'English divines.' ('Roman Question,' p. 54.)

He has now given us his ripest thoughts on the Roman question—on, at least, 'some salient points' and 'leading 'details' (Preface). 'He has earnestly desired to be fair, 'to exaggerate nothing, and to avoid any hard expressions' (*ibid.*)

It must, therefore, be a matter of the deepest interest to see what are the grounds in history and the Fathers, on which such a writer (who calls himself 'an aged 'priest,' and is known to be one of the most influential clergymen of the Church of England at the present moment) bases his view of these 'salient points' in the question between Rome and England.

We naturally look to his view of the Council of Chalcedon, and of Leo the Great.

Fresh interest has been lately lent to this subject from the Bishop of Lincoln's counsel (Sir Walter Phillimore) having claimed the canons of the Council of Chalcedon as part of the canon law of the Church of England.

The following sentence contains the above-mentioned writer's view of the matter : 'The important fact remains, 'as already shown in a former letter, that the Fathers of 'that Council (six hundred and thirty bishops) did not 'feel that any superiority of government belonged to the 'Roman See on that account' (*i.e.* on the ground that S. Leo 'sat in Peter's chair') 'for they distinctly refused 'to accede to Leo's demands, and, against the Roman 'legates, decided on giving the patriarchal dignity to Con-'stantinople, which was the point to which the Pope's con-'tention referred.' ('Roman Question,' p. 32.)

And, in the chapter referred to, the writer had said, 'it has been urged against the decree, that the then Pope, 'Leo, protested against it, and so saved his prerogative, 'notwithstanding that the Council, after hearing this pro-'test, persisted in carrying the decree as originally framed. 'But the answer to this objection is clear. The protest on 'the part of Rome rested not on any exclusive privilege 'claimed by it, but on the decree being, as the Pope af-'firmed, an unjust usurpation of the privileges of other 'bishops, and particularly of those of the Bishops of Alex-'andria and Antioch, who were next in rank to the Bishop 'of Rome, and thus contrary to the Nicene Canons. Rome 'did not oppose the decree as derogatory to herself. . . . And Rome, at the period spoken of, claimed nothing more 'than was consistent with the Church's canon law' (p. 11).

I shall give a short summary of the Fourth General Council and the Pope's relation to it. The four first councils stand, in the eyes of all English Churchmen, quite by themselves. They are to them a Court of Appeal, beyond which there is, in theory, nothing save Holy

Scripture itself. And indeed, seeing that they rightly hold that the sense of Scripture is Scripture, the first four Councils, determining, as they are held to do, the sense of Scripture on certain points, have a claim on their attention which nothing else has. And the fourth Council has its own peculiar claims. For it closed the great questions concerning the two Natures and the Divine Person of our Blessed Lord; and every Anglican holds that there is no uninspired writing quite on a par with the 'Tome 'of S. Leo,' which declares the final doctrine of the Church on the mystery of the Holy Incarnation. It was of this that the Fathers of Chalcedon exclaimed, 'Peter hath 'spoken by Leo.'

What, then, was the history of that Tome?

The Council of Ephesus, in accordance with the judgment of Pope Celestine,[1] presided over by his Legate S. Cyril of Alexandria, had condemned Nestorius. But an error, in some respects still more difficult to deal with, and equally vital, was destined to trouble the Church. It was based by its originator, Eutyches, the head of a monastery at Constantinople, on some expressions of S. Cyril's. μία φύσις. Eventually the struggle raged round a single expression 'of the Saint's. S. Peter Chrysologus had urged upon

[1] Pope S. Celestine sent his delegates 'to declare judgment on the sentiments of the Bishop; not yourselves to undergo a trial.' They arrived too late; but when they stated the position they were sent to assume, no dissentient voice was raised. Already the Council had, *in obedience to the Pope's letter*, deposed Nestorius, as themselves say, 'compelled through the sacred canons and the letter of our most Holy Father and fellow-minister (συλλειτούργου) Celestine.' S. Peter calls himself a fellow-elder in addressing the elders to whom he writes in his Epistle. Our Lord says that He is amongst His disciples 'as he that ministereth.' The argument which the *Literary Churchman* used in reviewing my book on 'Authority' would, if good, not simply disprove the Papal position, but establish the Presbyterian. It would also, applied to the gospels, disprove our Lord's divinity.

Eutyches to submit himself to Rome, 'since blessed 'Peter, who both lives and presides in his own See, gives 'the truth of the Faith to those who seek it.' Eutyches, however, was by no means prepared to submit. But S. Leo entered into correspondence with Flavian, the holy Archbishop of Constantinople, on the subject, somewhat censuring him for not having sooner sent the matter to Rome. Flavian remitted the cause at once to the Pope, giving a reason for the delay. He also asked the Pope to condemn Eutyches in writing, which S. Leo did.

Ep. ad Leonem, 1. Labbe, Conc. iv.

The cause of Eutyches was now espoused by the Patriarch of Alexandria, Dioscorus, and the Emperor Theodosius was enlisted in their cause. A General Council was suggested, and S. Leo consented. S. Leo acted all through as S. Chrysostom represents S. Peter as conducting himself, both at the election of Matthias and at the Council of Jerusalem. The same ἐπιείκεια which he notices in S. Peter is displayed by S. Leo. Without abating one iota of the authority with which he was invested, he yet sought rather to secure the acceptance of the truth than to moot the question of his own authority. In consenting to a Council being called, S. Leo expressly reminded both the Emperor and the Synod that there was no room for doubt on the question of faith; but that their office was to learn and spread the interpretation of S. Peter's confession as given by S. Peter himself, *i.e.* the Holy Apostolic See ('tanquam ab ipso beatissimo 'Petro cuperet declarari, quod in ejus confessione laudatum sit'). 'The Council was not to discuss the question of faith as though it were open, but to condemn Eutyches, 'ut pleniori judicio omnis possit error aboleri.' A fuller judgment, *i.e.* the Council's judgment, following on the lines of his own, was to be, as it were, the filling up on the part of the members of the irrevocable decision pronounced by the head. It could not add to the internal

Epp. 82 and 90.

value of the judgment pronounced by the head, but it would manifest it, and impart an external solemnity and persuasiveness in the eyes of those who were ensnared in error. The bishops would, if faithful, connect themselves, or proclaim their connection, with their head, and condemn Eutyches by their common judgment, or else acquit him if he recanted. (Letter to the Synod, June, 449.) At the same time S. Leo wrote his celebrated letter to Flavian, containing a dogmatic exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation—written to the whole Christian world, defining the Faith as obligatory on all Christians. Perhaps we may safely say that no more important letter had been written to the Church since the volume of Holy Scripture had been closed. The bishops of France expressed the sense of the whole Church when they said to S. Leo, of that tome, 'Doctrinæ post Deum vestræ 'debet fidelis, ut constanter teneat quod credebat.'[1] Labbe, Conc. t. iii.

But the Synod issued in the most disgraceful scenes. Violence was used by Dioscorus, and the bishops were compelled to sign the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius, and the old Archbishop died in a few days of the injuries he received. Eutyches was acquitted and restored to his monastery. The Council was henceforth known by the name of the Robber Synod.

S. Leo now pressed the Emperor and the Empress Pulcheria to summon another Synod to undo the work of the Ephesine catastrophe. The Emperor was unwilling to move in the matter, but was anxious to induce S. Leo to confirm the election of Anatolius to the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Pope required of Anatolius a profession of faith, and insisted on his not neglecting to consider carefully his own letter to Flavian containing his *ex cathedrâ* definition of the whole mystery

[1] 'The faithful owes it to your teaching, after God, that he holds 'fast what he believed.'

of the Incarnation. He sent legates to teach the Emperor the true faith, and says in a letter to Pulcheria, in reference to Anatolius, 'And let him agree to my letter 'which was addressed to Flavian of holy memory.'[1]

Marcion now succeeded to the imperial throne, and wedded Pulcheria. He at once expressed his willingness to convene a Council at S. Leo's bidding. He uses the word (σοῦ αὐθεντοῦντος, 'with your authority or authorisation') which S. Chrysostom uses of S. Peter when he says that S. Peter might have acted on his own authority in the election of S. Matthias. But the Pope did not think there was any immediate hurry; indeed, he seemed still to have hoped that peace might be restored without the paraphernalia of a General Council. The savage Huns were already at their desolating work in Gaul, and it seemed almost dangerous for the bishops to meet in numbers. But the Emperor pressed the matter and the Pope consented.

Let us pause for a moment. How clearly does all this show who was the ruler of the Church.[2] Emperors, patriarchs, and bishops recognise a primacy in the Bishop of Rome, not of honour, but of rule. He is seen feeding

[1] 'Non aspernetur etiam meam epistolam recensere.' ('Let him 'not disdain to examine closely my letter.') Canon Bright softens this down into 'he (S. Leo) added that his own letter might de- 'serve consideration.' But the letter to Pulcheria proves that S. Leo insisted on definite, positive consent to his letter on the part of Anatolius.

[2] Canon Bright speaks of Leo being 'vexed by the promptitude 'of the summons'; but there is no ground for this in the Saint's letters. He had previously himself been forward to suggest the Council, and there is no ground for supposing him to have been hypocritical in consenting. Canon Bright's remark (*History of the Church*, p. 399) that 'Leo, finding that Marcion had taken his own 'line, professed to ascribe it to a pious zeal,' rests on no grounds and is unworthy of the Professor. It was just an instance of that ἐπιείκεια which evidences real greatness.

the sheep of Christ's flock, including archbishops and bishops in the distant East, and not only feeding them with the truths of the deposit, but ruling them with the shepherd's crook in the name of the blessed Peter. Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου was our Lord's injunction—not only feed, but shepherd, guide, rule. And here was the successor of Peter, the acknowledged ποιμήν of the Christian λαός, acting in avowed obedience to our Lord's commission to Peter all over the Christian world.

In his letter to the Synod S. Leo is careful to explain that the confession of faith on the 'Sacrament of the Incarnation' had been 'most fully and clearly' declared in his own letter to Flavian. He tells them also that he shall preside by his legates, so that they may not be ignorant of what he teaches as the ancient tradition, and what he wishes to be done.

Labbe, Conc. t. iv. c. 69.

The Synod is assembled. The Papal Legate rises in the midst and demands that the Patriarch of Alexandria be degraded from the seat he had taken. He insists on obedience, and Dioscorus retires to the middle. As the Patriarch of Constantinople afterwards said to S. Leo, 'Thou didst preside, as the head over the members, in 'those who held your place.' 'We are commissioned,' said the legates, 'by the most holy and apostolic Bishop 'of Rome, which is the head of all the churches, to forbid 'Dioscorus sitting in the assembly or voting with it.'

At the end of this first session, the imperial commissioners reminded the assembly of Leo's letter. 'We 'have read it,' the bishops exclaimed.

In the next session, the question of the Eutychian heresy came on. The Bishop of Sebastopol rose up and said, 'The Archbishop Leo has given us a decree or norm '(τύπος), which we have already signed.' The rest cried out, 'That is what we also say; the declaration given by 'Leo suffices.'

It is evident from this that, so far as the Faith was concerned, they considered that the question was already settled. They had not come together to discuss that. S. Leo's letter had settled it.

But it must be remembered that there was a further question to be decided, and that was, the exculpation of S. Cyril from the imputation of Eutychianism. Dioscorus had rested his case on words of S. Cyril. Did Cyril, then, teach what S. Leo had taught them as the true Faith? S. Cyril represented the Pope at the last General Council, and his authority in Alexandria was immense. Was Dioscorus right in quoting S. Cyril in his favour?

e.g. Cajumas from Phœnicia and Elias of Hadrianopolis.

Further, was it certain that the bishops' assent to S. Leo's tome was an intelligent act? There were bishops, we know, who could not write. It was, therefore, a matter of moment that they should not merely, on the score of authority, acquiesce in S. Leo's teaching, true as they felt it must be. Else how would they teach others? Besides, a bishop has an office to perform towards the Faith, from which, if he is called to a Council, he cannot escape. He has a function of 'judgment.' Bishops are 'con-'judices' with their infallible head. And although the *ex cathedrâ* judgment of the head is secure of divine assistance, the Episcopate has a function and duty of approbation, when called upon by the Head of the Church, which is not that of a blind instrument, but of an intelligent being.

See the Vatican decree.

Moreover, we are expressly told that there were expressions in S. Leo's letter which were difficult of understanding to some; so that, though they could sign for themselves, they could not explain them to others. Again, we also gather from the Acts that there were difficulties arising from linguistic differences. Nothing, therefore, could be more natural than that an intelligent assent should be secured on the part of bishops who had

received, through their consecration, the office of judge, in subordination to their infallible head.

The bishops then, at this session, avowed their willingness to abide simply by S. Leo's declaration as to the 'Sacrament,' or mystery, of the Incarnation. But this did not satisfy the imperial commissioners. They insisted upon it that the patriarchs of each diocese (or larger district) should make sure that their bishops understood what they had signed, and were about to sign, so that there might be no kind of doubt about the Faith; so that no bishop would be able afterwards to say that he signed as at the Robber Synod, where Dioscorus had induced them to subscribe to a blank paper.

The Bishop of Sardis even then suggested that Leo's letter was sufficient, and that there was no time, as there was no need, to draw up any formula.

But it was obvious that S. Leo's long letter would not exactly serve the purpose of a short definition, and that it was important to say to the world, that S. Leo's teaching was in exact accord with the teaching of Nicæa, although an expansion of it, and that S. Cyril had not taught as Dioscorus had asserted.

Accordingly, the imperial commissioners pleaded that they should do something more than merely exclaim that they were satisfied with S. Leo's Tome.

They, therefore, read the symbol of Nicæa, and the bishops exclaimed, 'It is what Cyril taught, and what the 'Pope Leo believes.' They then read the Creed of Constantinople, and S. Cyril's letters, on which Dioscorus had relied, and then, Leo's letter to Flavian—and the Church resounded with the cries, 'Peter hath spoken by 'Leo: this is what Cyril taught.'

Thus Leo occupied to them the place of Peter, and S. Cyril's memory was cleared from the imputation of

Eutychian teaching, and Eutyches and Dioscorus were convicted of unsoundness in the Faith.

The imperial commissioners asked the question, 'Has anyone any doubts remaining?' and were greeted with the cry, 'No one!'

But although no bishops would *own* to a *doubt*, there were at any rate some, from Illyria and Palestine, who had *difficulties*. They wished to understand a little more, and their wish was acceded to. It was settled that Anatolius should entertain the bishops, at his own house, and that he should choose out, from amongst those that had signed, some who were best able to 'instruct' those who had difficulties in the matter from whatever cause. 'It was 'seemly,' they said, 'to persuade all who were perplexed.' Here was no question of revising the Pope's declaration of faith; it was a case of 'instruction' and 'persuasion.' Canon Bright's account of S. Leo's 'judgment as to doc-'trine,' that it was 'first reviewed and then confirmed as 'by a superior court,' finds no countenance in the actual History of the Council. Before a document is signed, it must be read and the terms understood; and a Papal decision acquires an external solemnity, and a persuasiveness and facility of conviction, from the adherence of the bishops. Its position is strengthened and confirmed to the world at large. But it is clear that the Acts of the Council negative any notion of confirmation by the Council as that of a superior. Their adherence strengthened the cause of the Faith, and proclaimed to the world at large that they, in the exercise of a peculiar prerogative, as consecrated with the unction of the Holy Ghost, led the way in confessing the Faith which Peter had declared by Leo. They do not say that the question of faith had remained undecided until they, by their conciliar action, had confirmed it. They nowhere act as a superior court, or sit in judgment on S. Leo's Tome. They

'Hist. of the Church,' pp. 407 and 417.

seek to understand it, and to give it an intelligent adhesion, and to *see* its harmony with Scripture and tradition. But they act all along, as Anatolius [1] afterwards described their conduct, as members in presence of their head.

And now the imperial commissioners have withdrawn, and the church is filled with none but ecclesiastics. The case of Dioscorus has to be decided. The legates assume the presidency, and direct Eusebius of Dorylæum, the veteran champion of the Faith, against Nestorius first, and now against Eutyches, to read his case against Dioscorus. Then the legates issued their solemn sentence. Let us remember that the Fathers are not asked first to give their votes; and that the accused man is no less a personage than the Patriarch of Alexandria. The sentence ran thus: 'For these reasons, Leo, the most 'holy Archbishop of Rome, declares by us, and by the 'most holy Synod here present, and in union with the 'blessed Apostle Peter': The legates are his representatives, the Holy Synod his instrument of solemn publication, and the Petrine prerogative of his See is the source of his authority. It continues:—(Peter) 'who is the 'rock and support of the Catholic Church and the found-'ation of the orthodox faith, that Dioscorus is stripped of 'his archbishopric, and of all ecclesiastical dignity. After 'that the most holy and great Synod will decide in re-'gard to the before-mentioned Dioscorus what shall seem 'conformable to the canons.'

And echo answers 'Yes.' The Synod echoed the sentence of the Pope and obediently proceeded to subscribe the sentence of deposition.

And now the commissioners reappear on the scene and ask what has been decided. Paschasinus, the legate, replies that the Holy Synod preserves intact the rule of faith of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Fathers; and that

[1] Archbishop of Constantinople.

it recognises the explanation of this symbol furnished by Cyril at Ephesus. But this was not all. This would not meet the emergency, which demanded an application, by way of expansion, to the case of Eutyches and Dioscorus. This had been supplied by the teaching of the Tome of Leo. Accordingly the legate went on to say that the writings of the most holy Archbishop of all the Churches, Leo, expounded the contents of the true faith. 'In like 'manner the Holy Synod holds this Faith, follows this, and 'can neither add to it nor diminish from it.' A few bishops who had had difficulties declared that these had been cleared up, and that they 'believed with Leo.'

It is clear, then, from the whole history so far, that the Tome of S. Leo was not subjected to an examination of revision. Before this examination, on which Canon Bright, and indeed all Gallicans and Anglicans have been wont to rely, it had *already* been accepted by the Council, and therefore, on all conceivable principles, it was beyond the reach of revision. It was accepted as the foundation of the Council's exposition of faith, by a morally unanimous consent of the Fathers. It was received as the rule of faith by universal acclamation, *before* the subscription and exposition of their reasons on the part of some of the Fathers. It was not, therefore, received in that 4th session for purposes of confirmation or revision, but it was proposed to them for their signature. It was not, as I have remarked above, S. Leo's aim to emphasize his own authority. His desire was to secure the acceptance of the faith he expounded, as in accordance with the ancient tradition. He acted as a true guardian of the deposit, and secured his end. He was, as a matter of fact, recognised throughout the proceedings as the ruler of the Universal Church.

See Jungmann, Diss. Histor. tom. 2, Diss. 10, p. 292.

And when the Fathers, in the 5th session, came to put forth their own profession, whilst they declare their

adhesion to the synodal letters of S. Cyril to Nestorius and to the Orientals as containing a refutation of Nestorianism (a point which needed to be laboured because of the endeavours of Dioscorus to shelter himself under the name of Cyril), they join to them 'for the 'confirmation of the orthodox dogma, the letter of the 'most holy Archbishop Leo of Rome written to Flavian 'for the extirpation of the errors of Eutyches.' They had been called together to condemn Eutyches, and they do it by expressing first their adhesion to the Papal exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation; but they add, 'for this 'letter coincided with the doctrine of S. Peter, and is a 'pillar against all heretics.' Strange, indeed, that Canon Bright should be able to write after all this, that 'Then 'did the council sit in judgment on the Tome, and stamp 'it, after due examination, with the approval of a superior 'authority,' when the Council is perpetually proclaiming itself as simply bowing to the authority of S. Peter, speaking through Leo, and giving in its adhesion to the teaching, which in their 4th session they had described as an exposition of the true faith. The Monophysites were declaiming against the new exposition of the Tome that it offended against the ancient faith; the Imperial party feared that, without some declaration as to its actual conformity with the doctrine of the previous Councils, it would be hard to rebut the assertion of heretics, that it contravened S. Cyril's teaching, as well as the Nicene Faith: a certain number of bishops, however few, hardly understood the mode of reconciling the new application with the older statements. These were the points that the Council settled. The Tome of Leo, which they accepted from him as having been 'set over all (πᾶσι καθιστάμενος) as the interpreter of the voice of Peter,' was in accordance with the faith of Nicæa, and was not a condemnation of Cyril's teaching. These were the points

Anatolius' Letter to Leo.

which they, the proper judges, along with their infallible head, were commissioned and ready to proclaim to the Christian world. They never lose sight of S. Leo's special connection with S. Peter, and they never comport themselves as a superior authority to his, whom they afterwards call their head.

In the solemn session that succeeded, graced by the presence of the Emperor Marcian and the Empress Pulcheria, the points are still the same. The Emperor had addressed an allocution to the Council in which he said, 'God has given the Synod a combatant against all 'errors, in the person of the Bishop of Rome, who, like 'Peter, always so zealous, desired to conduct all the world 'to God.' And now in his speech he says that the very purpose for which he had convoked the Synod was that, 'for the future, no one might dare to put forth concerning 'the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, any 'other opinion than that which was taught by the Apostles, 'defined by the 318 holy Fathers, and witnessed to in the 'letter written by the holy Pope Leo.'

Clearly they did not meet to 'review and confirm' the Tome of S. Leo, any more than to 'confirm' the Nicene Faith, but to provide that its teaching should be proclaimed as the norm of the Faith. And the salient feature of the whole history of the Council, in its antecedents and issues, is the fulfilment of our Lord's promise to S. Peter, 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and do thou, in thy turn, strengthen thy brethren.' Peter spoke by Leo, and Leo shepherded the flock of Christ. Peter failed in the Passion; but (1) he was not then Pope, and (2) he did not then pronounce an *ex cathedrâ* judgment. After Pentecost he was, as S. Chrysostom says, αἴτιος πάντων, the responsible originator of all. And S. Leo, his successor, closed the four great decisions on the mystery of the Incarnation, and gave to

the Church that luminous exposition of the Faith, which has been called 'a clear, forcible, intelligible textbook on 'both aspects of the Incarnation mystery . . . indeed one of the most precious documents in Christian literature.'

Bright's 'Hist. of the Church,' concluding chapter.

So far, then, the history of the Council discloses that the principle of the Church's unity consisted, not in so many autonomous provinces, who agreed in their symbol of faith, but in a certain hierarchical order amongst the bishops, welding them together as one body. Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, beyond all question, accepted a position of subordination to the Bishop of Rome. A decree not yet signed by the Bishop of Rome was not considered to have reached its final stage. It was not yet a decree of the one body, welded together with the defined correlation of its several parts, culminating in the Bishop of Rome, who, it will be admitted universally, held at least a primacy of honour. Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus had brought out the reality of his position more and more clearly; but it was reserved for Chalcedon to emphasize this headship more clearly still.

And no thought expresses itself more frequently in the whole history of the Council than the peculiar relationship in which the Bishop of Rome stood to the Apostle Peter. All bishops—nay, in a sense all the laity, who held the true faith—could be in a manner christened with the name of Peter. When a bishop named Peter, in the Council, passed over to the orthodox side, they exclaimed, 'Peter has gone to Peter.' S. Augustine, in commenting on our Lord's words to Peter concerning his faith failing not, applies them to every Christian. But just as the Presbyterian is wrong in not seeing the peculiar sense in which it is applied to a bishop—as, for instance, in S. Chrysostom's opening passage on the priesthood—so it is a similar mistake to ignore the

peculiar and supereminent sense in which the name of Peter is applied to the 'holy Archbishop of Rome.'

But if S. Leo's position was due to this relation to Peter, that position is evidently part of the essential and Divine constitution of the Church.

CHAPTER III.

THE CANON INVALIDATED.

THE salient feature of Oriental ecclesiastical life was, alas! ambition. 'New Rome,' in the days of Constantine, had been the enthusiasm of the East. The Imperial residence had made it a real necessity that the ecclesiastical machinery for the East should have its spring in the new centre of the civil order. The local synod of Constantinople, where bishops from distant parts were constantly coming and going, necessarily assumed a paramount position and became a centre of authority. If only an Apostle had fixed his See on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus! But the Apostles were guiding the Church from Jerusalem above, and Constantinople could never, alas! become an Apostolic See. S. Peter had settled his disciple Mark at Alexandria, had himself resided at Antioch, and finally settled at Rome. Consequently Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch had their position of superiority from the beginning, which the Nicene Fathers had recognised and confirmed as their essential right. But a long series of encroachments had placed Constantinople in a position of practical superiority to Alexandria and Antioch. It was the Imperial ambition that the New Rome should in all respects vie with the old. But the Nicene Fathers, in their sixth canon, had included it only amongst the other 'eparchies.' In the 2nd Council, however, a partially successful move had

been made, and Constantinople had been mentioned as second only to Rome. But although the Papal legate had seemed to recognise its new position, that third canon never obtained œcumenical acceptance. It was never inserted in the authorised collection of Church canons. 'Rome and the West have never recognised its 'contents,' said S. Leo to the Empress. 'It was never 'brought to the knowledge of the Apostolic See,' he tells Anatolius. It contained, in fact, a principle which had never received the sanction of the Church. It desired to give the Bishop of Constantinople 'an honorary pre-'cedence' next after Rome, on the ground of its being 'New Rome.' But this suggested the principle that the Bishop of Rome owed his position to the greatness of the city. Whereas the ecclesiastical rank of a see was due, not to its civil grandeur, but to its Apostolic origin. Its title to respect was from heaven, not of earth. Rome, according to S. Cyprian, was the 'principal or ruling Church, 'whence sacerdotal unity took its rise,' because it was the 'Chair of Peter.' The Fathers at Sardica had said that it would be best to refer matters from the various provinces 'to the head, that is to the See of *Peter*.' S. Augustine had spoken of the foundations of the Church having been laid in the 'Apostolic' Sees, and Rome was to him the Church, 'in which Peter sat, and in which now 'Anastasius sits.' S. Leo, and S. Gregory the Great after him, expressly stated the principle that the rank of Alexandria and Antioch were due to their association, the one directly and the other indirectly, with the Apostle Peter. And these sees, thus connected with Peter and raised to the rank of second and third in the hierarchy, had, as we have said, been acknowledged by the Nicene Fathers, and their rank secured to them by a Nicene canon. But Constantinople never rested; and at a meeting at Chalcedon after the canons had been drawn

Mansi, t. vi. p. 442. Hard. t. ii. p. 635.

Ep. 105.

Ep. ad. Anat.

Ep. 52.

See Hefele on 28th Canon.

up, including one somewhat favourable to the claims of Constantinople, and to the principles of the civil status of a See conferring on it an ecclesiastical rank, 200 or so of the Fathers drew up another canon. They did not finally enact it in the full sense of the word; for how could the East act œcumenically without the West? They drew it up for acceptance by the Pope. *This they declare in set terms.* It is really playing with words to call their petition to the Pope to accept the canon mere compliment. The circumstances were these: It was the hour for the Patriarch of Constantinople to strike; Anatolius was equal to the occasion. The circumstances were extraordinarily favourable for his move. The Papal legates were absent; the sees most interested in opposing his schemes were either vacant or their occupants absent or under his influence. Alexandria was vacant, and Ephesus. Antioch was represented by Maximus, the creature of Anatolius, as Hefele calls him; and Juvenal, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was under special obligations to Anatolius. Thrace was not there, and Cæsarea did not sign.

See Hefele on the 15th Session of Chalcedon.

The canon, then, was drawn up, boldly asserting the principle that the 'Fathers gave' Rome her precedence by reason of the Imperial nature of the city. The legates, when the Council met for the last time, protested against what had been done in their absence. They read to the Assembly the sixth canon of Nicæa. They read a version of it, which commenced with a sentence that had no bearing on the controversy, and which was not in the Greek version. It asserted that the said canon began with saying, 'The Roman Church always had the primacy.' No controversy arose on the subject. It was not under dispute. Aetius,[1] perhaps, read the Greek version, and

[1] Canon Bright (*History of the Church*, last chapter), speaks of Aetius producing the genuine text of the 6th canon as a rebuff,

no notice was taken of the difference. The question was (1) as to the relative positions of Constantinople and the two patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, not as to the relation between Constantinople and Rome, and (2), as to the ground on which Rome had acquired her pre-eminent patriarchal position. The question of Rome's primacy over the Universal Church did not enter into the discussion. There is no trace, nor hint, of this being in the minds of the bishops. There is much to positively forbid our supposing that such a different topic was even distantly alluded to. The Bishop of Rome was the Primate of the Universal Church, Patriarch of the West, Metropolitan of a certain region round Rome, and Bishop of Rome. The question mooted by the proposed canon was wholly concerned with the question of patriarchal honour. The Council of Nicæa had recognised the institution of patriarchs, though without the name, and it was to this that Constantinople aspired, and to a recognition as second only to Rome. But in order to secure this, it was necessary to lay down the principle that greatness in the secular order, and not the fact of Apostolic origin, determined ecclesiastical rank. The Council of Nicæa had said nothing about this. It dealt with the order of things already in vogue, and confirmed to Alexandria and Antioch the position they enjoyed as superior Metropolitans, or Patriarchs as they were afterwards called, to distinguish them from ordinary Metropolitans.

The Nicene Fathers merely based their confirmation

and says, 'To this rebuff the legates could make no answer.' The Acts of the Council do not seem to bear out this version of the scene. Mr. Gore (*R. C. Claims*, p. 96) speaks of the legates' text, as 'expressly disallowed by the East.' It was not discussed. The Ballerini have given reasons for supposing that the Greek version is an intercalation by a copyist, a view which Hefele favours. Mr. Gore's note is altogether misleading.

of the rights of Alexandria and Antioch *on the analogy of Roman rule.* They said, in effect, Rome has set the example of subordinating certain sees to certain others ; let Alexandria and Antioch continue in their similar groove. They gave no reason for thus adhering to the order of things inaugurated by Rome. There was no call for a reason. The bishops, therefore, at Chalcedon under Anatolius' influence, simply made an unhistorical statement when they asserted that the Nicene Fathers gave Rome her patriarchal rights on the score of being the Imperial city. The Nicene Fathers simply said that the ancient usage should prevail. As to where or on what authority this custom arose they were silent. If any Fathers had really 'given' her patriarchal rights to Rome, it could clearly only have been at an œcumenical synod. But Nicæa did not give them ; it found them already established. And as to the principle of following in the wake of secular greatness, the Fathers said nothing. The Apostles did, indeed, choose the large cities for the scene of their labours : but the sees thus founded by Apostles in central positions acquired their ecclesiastical rank, not because they were centrally situated, but because Apostles founded them. It happened that Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, had sat next to Rome at the Council, with the assent of the legates ; but the Patriarch of Alexandria was Dioscorus, under accusation ; and as for Antioch, it was not yet settled whether Maximus or Domnus was the lawful bishop.

This 28th canon, therefore, had no positive tradition whereon to rest. Indeed, it contradicted ancient tradition.

But the Council never pretended that they had power to enact a canon of such magnitude, or to stamp it with œcumenicity, apart from Papal confirmation. The necessity of such confirmation was assumed on all sides.

Indeed, as it was, the canon was no more than an Eastern decree, if that. No single Western bishop had signed it. As it stood it had, therefore, no sort of claim to be œcumenical.

The bishops, before parting, composed a letter asking for the Pope's confirmation of their canon. Canon Bright speaks of their letter as 'carrying diplomatic 'courtesy to an excess.' There is really no ground whatever for this statement. The terms which the bishops use had been used, or at least their equivalents, in the Council itself. They use a crucial word, which contains nothing that can be called diplomatic courtesy, except by a serious *petitio principii*. They tell the Pope, in sending him their letter, that they had taken him as their guide, in order 'to show to the sons of the Church 'the inheritance of the truth.' This was, as we have seen, the sober literal truth. They speak of the Pope as having been to them 'the interpreter of the voice of 'Peter.' This the Council had expressly said when the bishops exclaimed, 'Peter hath spoken by Leo.' They speak of their business having been prosperously conducted by God's grace, and through S. Euphemia (in whose church they had met), and they feel that she 'had 'transmitted its doctrinal decree as her own to her bride-'groom Christ by the hand of the Emperor and the 'Empress.' To those, of course, who do not believe in the active intervention of the saints in the life of the Church, this will seem mere sentiment; but then the whole Church did believe in such a relationship between the 'wayfarers' and those that had reached the goal. Finally, they inform the Pope that they have sent to him what they have done, alluding especially to their canons, 'for confirmation and assent,' *βεβαίωσίν τε καὶ συγκατάθεσιν*.

There is no 'excess of diplomatic courtesy' here.

The word they use when they ask for the Papal 'confirma 'tion'—βεβαίωσιν—is the very word used by the Emperor Marcian afterwards with reference to the same necessity. And the Emperor was not likely to be guilty of an excess of 'diplomatic courtesy.' Further, Anatolius himself writes to the Pope, and, after stating that "the *Apostolic* '*throne* had from early times cared for the throne of 'Constantinople and had ungrudgingly imparted of its 'own' (sober, crucial, most memorable expressions, coming from the Patriarch of Constantinople), he proceeds to say that 'the Synod and himself had transmitted that decree' (alluding to the 28th canon) 'to him for his approval 'and confirmation' (συναίνεσις καὶ βεβαιότης), and he adjures the Pope to give this, for 'the *Apostolic throne was* '*the father of that of Constantinople.*'

The Emperor joins in with the same entreaty.

The situation is this: Emperor, Patriarch, and Bishops are, as it were, on their knees before the Pope, in entreaty that he would confirm the canon which placed Constantinople above Alexandria and Antioch, and second only to Rome in patriarchal honour, and that because of its secular splendour as the Imperial centre.

No need to say that they believed Leo to be Primate of the Universal Church. No thought crossed their minds, that even the entire East could be an autonomous portion of the universal Church. No other conception of the unity of the Church than as cemented by its culminating point, the successor and representative of the blessed Apostle Peter. No need for Leo to indulge in platitudes about his own authority, thus amply recognised and ungrudgingly accepted.

But the canon represented a grievous sin, which was destined to affect the future peace of the Church.

Imperial influence and secular ambition were the explanation of their entreaties.

Without obtruding the fact of his authority, Leo acted upon it.

He authoritatively blotted out the canon from the decrees of the Church.

See Jungmann, Diss. de Conc. Chalc. 65.

From his various letters, we can gather the following motives which induced him to exercise his 'Petrine 'prerogative,' and annul the canon.

1. There was no sufficient reason for putting Constantinople above Alexandria and Antioch. Secular majesty was no measure of hierarchical superiority.

2. The canon infringed upon the rights of the others, and was opposed to the Nicene canons, of which he was bound to be the faithful guardian.

3. The decree of A.D. 381 (the 3rd canon of Constantinople) was not œcumenical. It was unknown to the West. It had never been confirmed by the Holy See.

4. The canon was due to ambition on the part of Anatolius, and was signed by some under undue pressure.

5. The present distresses of Alexandria and Antioch were no reason for diminishing their rights, of which the Pope was the official guardian.

Accordingly S. Leo writes to the Emperor, and refuses his assent. He says of Anatolius that, whilst the Imperial city is not to be lightly esteemed, it cannot be made into an Apostolic See.

He writes to the Empress Pulcheria, and tells her that the lapse of years since the decree of 'some bishops' (at the Council of Constantinople) has not validated that canon. And as for this resolution of the Bishops (the 28th canon), 'which is contrary to the Nicene decree, 'in union with the piety of your faith, I declare it to be 'invalid, and I annul it by the authority of the holy 'Apostle Peter.'

To the Patriarch of Constantinople, Anatolius, he

writes that 'he should be free from pride, which was the 'cause of the first sin.' He tells him that the canon is in violation of the Nicene decrees, so that he cannot give it the seal of his consent ; that the 3rd canon of Constantinople had never been sent to the Pope, and had never been valid from the beginning. And 'the See of 'Alexandria cannot be deprived of the dignity which it 'received on account of Mark, the disciple of Peter, 'notwithstanding the apostasy of Dioscorus ; nor Antioch, 'where Peter preached, and where the name of Christian 'first arose, be lowered from its rank as third.'

Now let us pause for a moment to apply the principles that emerge from this history to the situation in England in the sixteenth century. They are drawing up new canons. Convocation has to accept a new statement concerning the relation of Canterbury to Rome. It makes a declaration of its own autonomy. Where is the Papal confirmation? Its very purport is to do away with Papal confirmation. It sunders its existing ties with its superior Metropolitan or Patriarch, and thus contravenes the Nicene canon. It proclaims that such relations are no essential feature of the Divine institution. But here even Constantinople does not venture to act in independence of Rome. The entire East does not venture to proclaim its own autonomy. Did the East discover fresh truths as to the form of unity centuries afterwards? That would be a theory of development indeed. Here, at any rate, within the period of the first four Œcumenical Councils the unity of the Church is conceived of as involving a relationship to the Apostolic See connected with the name of Peter—pointing, in fact, to the Gospels, implying its own Divine institution. The history of the whole Council contains within itself the condemnation of the canon itself. Certainly no precedency due to a secular cause, nothing short of a sense that the relation-

ship of all parts of the Church to the Holy See is that of members to a head, and that this is the essential form of her unity, can explain the history of the fourth General Council. The Synod of Chalcedon, the Emperor Marcian, and the Patriarch of Constantinople, each and all of them dealt with Leo's confirmation as necessary to the validity of the canon.

What Constantinople did was to continue its encroachments. It never laid its ambition aside. It had been the mother or nurse of all the heresies concerning the holy Incarnation ; and from never conquering its besetting sin of ambition, it ended in tearing itself away from the Church and passing into a schism. It lost its vitality, and became, as is ever the case with religious communions when severed from the Holy See, Erastian to the very core.

But what it did *not* do in the days of Chalcedon was to deny in terms the authority of the Holy See.

Anatolius wrote to Leo to say that he yielded. In doing so he acknowledged that the authority of Leo was necessary for the validity 'of such things.' Nothing more transpired concerning the canon. No further appeal was made to it at that time, and it was omitted from the authorised collection of canons even in the East. When, in 1215, Constantinople was at length allowed to take precedence of Alexandria, it was not on the score of this canon. It was for the convenience of the Church that it should eventually take rank after Rome. But the principle enunciated in the 28th canon was censured by its repudiation. This repudiation gave rise to the idea in the East that Leo had refused to confirm the definition of the Faith drawn up at Chalcedon. Accordingly the Emperor wrote again to Leo to ask him to signify his confirmation of that, which Leo did with an express limitation to the matter of faith, to the exclusion of the canon.

We are now in a position to consider how far we can depend on the summary of the fourth Council given in Canon Bright's 'History of the Church.'

Speaking of Leo he says: 'His judgments, whether as 'to an individual or as to a doctrine, were first reviewed 'and then confirmed.' We have seen in a previous chapter that he sent his Tome to be their guide, and not to be discussed except with a view to understanding it and receiving it with an intelligent adhesion.

'His version of the Nicene Canons was rejected as 'corrupt.' We have seen that the legate's version was accurate for the purpose in hand, and that its correctness was not discussed.

'A canon which he could not but dislike was enacted 'in spite of his legate's protest, and enforced throughout 'the East in spite of his own.' We have seen that the canon was only enacted in the sense of being drawn up for Leo's adjudication, and was dropped by Anatolius and the Emperor, though the ambitious projects expressed in it were secretly continued.

'And he himself was content to denounce it, not on 'the ground of "S. Peter's prerogatives," but simply in the 'name of the Council of Nicæa.' We have seen that the negative here and the word 'simply' are not justified by the facts of the case. As the authoritative guardian of the Nicene Canons, being the successor of S. Peter, he insisted on their observance, and rejected a dangerous innovation.

In fact, the whole circumstances do but illustrate S. Leo's obedience to our Lord's precept to S. Peter, 'Feed '(*i.e.* govern) My sheep.' Leo governed the flock, leading them into the pastures of heavenly doctrine; and, if they would but have listened to his warning words, the schism that eventually killed out the life of the East might have been avoided. A Photius, perchance, would

have been impossible, and perhaps a Luther would never have arisen. And (who knows?) a Tudor tyrant might never have wrested from the Church the 'island of 'Saints.'

There is one argument adduced by Mr. Gore in the second edition of his 'Roman Catholic Claims' (p. 98) which I must not omit to notice. By way of showing that the 28th canon had some authority, he refers to the 3rd canon of the Council of Constantinople, to which he says, quoting from Canon Bright, it referred back. We have seen that the said 3rd canon did not acquire œcumenical acceptance. He then quotes a sentence from Dr. Salmon, who adduces as a proof of the Church's acceptance of the 28th canon, the following fact: 'The 'Quinisext Council, 681, confirmed all the Chalcedon 'canons without exception.' No doubt it did. But can any student of history attach the smallest value to what the Quinisext Council did? Here is a succinct history of that Council given in Harper's 'Peace through the 'Truth,' vol. ii.:—

'Ten years after the close of the sixth Œcumenical 'Council (or the third of Constantinople, convened in 'that city in A.D. 681, for the condemnation of the Mono-'thelite heresy), this assemblage of bishops was ordered 'by the Emperor, Justinian II., and held its sittings in 'Trullo—a hall, so called, of the Imperial palace. It is 'for this reason sometimes called the Council *in* Trullo; 'sometimes it goes by the name of the Quini-sext, because 'it was regarded *by the Greeks* as a sort of supplement to 'the fifth and sixth Œcumenical Councils. These latter 'had issued no disciplinary canons; and the Greek bishops 'were summoned professedly to supply this omission.

'For several reasons its Acts displeased the Supreme 'Pontiff, and accordingly nothing would induce him to 'accept or confirm them. In the first place, "the Canons

'"of the Apostles," as they were called, had been declared 'apocryphal by the Western Church; yet they were, in 'its Acts, pronounced to be authentic and obligatory. 'And this *imprimatur* not only embraced the first fifty 'canons, but extended to thirty-five which follow in the 'Greek collection. Among these latter, however, were 'two which taught a heresy already of long time con- 'demned. In the second place, the ancient disciplinary 'canons concerning the celibacy of the clergy were 'annulled, and a most scandalous laxity encouraged by 'its decrees. In the third place, those wily Greeks had 'endeavoured to gain their point about the See of Con- 'stantinople, by smuggling into their Acts that same canon 'which they had managed, on previous occasions, to get 'inserted among the decrees of general Councils, without, 'however, being ever able to obtain its confirmation from 'the Pope. Fourthly, the Council had not been convened 'by the Pope, but by the Emperor (alone).

'Justinian knew full well how essential it was to 'their validity that these Acts should be confirmed by 'the Vicar of Christ. He accordingly sent a copy of them 'to Rome, and demanded that Sergius should affix his 'signature. The Pope would neither receive them nor 'allow them to be read in his presence, declaring that he 'would rather suffer death than confirm such errors. The 'Emperor, on receiving information of the Pontiff's firm- 'ness, or—as he and his courtiers would have doubtless 'termed it—obstinacy, sent his first equerry to Rome with 'orders to seize the person of the Holy Father, and to 'bring him by force to Constantinople. It was easier 'said than done. For the armies of the West heard of 'the proceeding; and as they were not inclined to part 'with their Pope so easily, they concentred on Rome. 'The unfortunate Zacharias, the aforesaid equerry, be- 'came alarmed for his life, and saved the latter at the

'expense of his official dignity, by seeking a safe asylum 'under the Pope's bed. Sergius persuaded the excited 'multitude—for the populace *en masse*, some armed, others 'unarmed, had surrounded the Pontifical Palace as a body-'guard of volunteers—to spare the life of the poor abject 'wretch ; so they contented themselves with driving this 'tool of a lawless Emperor out of the gates of Rome, 'amid a perfect storm of groans and execrations.'

One more unsuccessful attempt was made to get the Trullan Canons confirmed by John VII.

It is not true, as Fleury asserted, that the Papal legates were ever present at the conciliabulum in Trullo.

Mr. Gore and Dr. Salmon do not, therefore, gain anything by their appeal to this Council. It only shows the conviction, on all sides, that the Papal confirmation was necessary for the validity of an œcumenical canon, and that they could not obtain it for the canons in question.

And yet is there anything on which the High Churchman in the Establishment rests his case more confidently, than the idea that the primacy of Rome was due to the Imperial greatness of the city, and not to its relationship to S. Peter? And is there any passage in history on which he more confidently depends for proof of this contention, than on the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon?

We have shown that it did not embody the mind of the Church.

CHAPTER IV.

LIBERIUS, THE CONFESSOR.

To Peter, then, our Lord entrusted His flock to be fed and ruled by him, and his successors after him (τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον). And our Lord prayed for him that his faith might not fail. This was to be the law of the Church—Satan sifting the rulers of the Church, as wheat, and our Lord praying for Peter. Peter, in his successors, was ever sure of the Divine assistance in his official guardianship of the flock of Christ. Peter was, as the Council of Ephesus called him, the rock of the Church, and, as the same Council owned, he 'lives and presides' in his See.

But did not Peter, in the 4th century, fail in the person of Liberius? The author of the 'Roman Question' says the Bishop of Rome simply and altogether failed at a 'great crisis.' He ignores altogether the part that Pope Julius played in the same century, in defending S. Athanasius against the Eusebian heretics. He imagines that 'Athanasius contra Mundum' means Athanasius, without even the See of S. Peter (p. 35). Whereas Athanasius triumphed, standing on the 'rock.' He considers that Liberius 'actually signed an Arian or semi-Arian creed,' in such a way as to forfeit any claim on the part of Rome to have guided the Church through her difficulties in dealing with the mystery of the Incarnation.

Dr. Pusey held the same. Speaking of Liberius he tells us that 'Fortunatian, Bishop of Aquileia (who had

'lapsed into Arianism) seduced him and constrained him 'to subscription of heresy.' The quotation is from a writing of S. Jerome. It is curious that Dr. Pusey should have quoted only half of this sentence; for the other half shows that the writer (who was probably not S. Jerome at all) was certainly mistaken in his facts. And the cause given for Fortunatian's presence is a well-nigh impossible one. But Dr. Pusey accepts the whole of the disputed letters of S. Hilary, and so makes out a dismal tale indeed. 'The fall was miserably complete. 'Such a fall could not be a half-fall.' One does not quite see why. Certainly Dr. Pusey goes the entire length of supposing that Liberius entered into communion with the Arians, repudiated S. Athanasius, and wrote piteous letters to the Emperor entreating him to restore him to Rome. (Pusey's 'Hist. of the Councils,' p. 170.)

Canon Bright rises to his full powers in his terse, graphic description of the situation. He accepts the whole programme, with, however, more caution as to what creed it was which Liberius signed. He too, trusting to S. Jerome's supposed narrative, attributes Liberius' fall to Fortunatian, and winds up with a sentence which so impressed itself on my memory that after an interval of twenty-nine years I was able to turn to the very place on the page in which it occurs. 'Thus (he says), in the latter part of 357, the Roman See lost its purity of faith.'

'Hist. of the Church,' p. 88.

Mr. Gore, the Principal of Pusey House, following in the steps of these teachers, though admitting the vindication of the Faith, on the part of the See of Rome, in that century, adopts the same estimate of Liberius' fall, and says: 'We contend that if anything in the world can be 'certain' (very untheological language), 'it is certain that 'S. Athanasius, had he had any idea of the Bishop of 'Rome being in a unique sense the guardian of the faith,

'R.C. Claims,' p. 96.

'much more any notion of his infallibility, must have 'adopted another tone in regard to his (Liberius') fall. 'He must have quivered at the awful shock of finding 'himself deserted by the "Holy Father" as the central 'dogma of the faith.'

Now, the case of Liberius is one of those points in history that have received a great deal of light during the last few years. His entire history may be compared to one portion of it, which meets with its proper fate in Canon Bright's writings, of which I desire to speak with the deepest respect.

The most serious accusations against Pope Liberius are founded on certain passages in S. Hilary, especially what is called his Sixth Fragment. If that fragment were genuine, as Dr. Pusey assumed it to be, and also Mr. Gore, in the original draft of his book on 'Roman Catholic 'Claims' (p. 45, note), there would certainly be a strong *primâ facie* case against the infallibility of the Holy See. Even then, Liberius' case would not amount to an actual contradiction of the Vatican decree; but it would come very near to it.

But the genuineness of these fragments of S. Hilary, containing the imaginary letters of Liberius, is never likely to recover from the blows that have been dealt it by Hefele.

In 1860, Canon Bright introduces into his text the anathemas on Liberius from S. Hilary's Sixth Fragment, as well as a portion of his letter from another fragment. In a note he says, 'Baronius thinks these expressions 'spurious, the invention of some pseudo-Hilary.' And that is all. But in 1873, though he still relies on Fragment VI., he speaks of the authority of these fragments having been doubted by others, 'though,' he says, 'most 'writers think them genuine.' Here, then, the opening for considering them spurious is somewhat wider. But

Athan. c. Arium, Preface, p. lxxvi.

in 1881, he says of Liberius' letters, 'Pro Deifico' (in Hilary, Fragment VI.), and 'Studens paci' (in Fragment V.) 'Both are probably forgeries.' And he thinks that the 'signing' in Hist. Ari. 41 'refers not to any doctrinal formula, but to a document condemning or renouncing Athanasius.'

So that we may consider that one of the most damaging witnesses against Liberius has disappeared.

I propose, however, to show that altogether the fall of Liberius cannot be claimed as an *established fact*; that if he signed anything, it could not have been anything that compromised the inerrancy of the Holy See; and that, as a matter of fact, it is 'not proved' that he signed anything. More than this I do not attempt to show, and this amounts only to showing that the 'fall' of Liberius is 'not proven.'

Now it is certain that the whole contemporary world in which Liberius lived, regarded him as a man of extraordinary nobility of character, and a most zealous champion of orthodoxy. There is not a varying note in contemporary literature, not a single Father, not a single historian, but speaks of Liberius—if he speaks of him at all—as one of the most illustrious Pontiffs that ever occupied the Holy See. His confessorship up to the time of his exile, the vigour with which, according to S. Athanasius, he opposed Arianism, and stood by the Saint himself, the orthodoxy with which he ruled the Church after his exile, the pride which the Roman Church took in their illustrious ruler, both before, and during, and after his exile, are all established by orthodox contemporary opinion. And all this forms a much greater difficulty than is to be found in S. Athanasius' supposed attitude of tenderness towards Liberius' supposed lapse. The difficulty that is raised by those facts is how, on any known principle of interpretation, to reconcile this unvarying esteem

for Liberius by the whole orthodox world with the notion of any complicity with heresy. How are we to account for Theodoret's estimate of him, containing not a word about this supposed fall? What are we to say of S. Ambrose's praise of Liberius, when writing to his sister? The difficulty has to be met, that in so many competent authorities there is an utter silence about this fall, not so much as a difference of opinion on the matter, no consciousness of anything to the discredit of this illustrious Pontiff and Martyr, nothing to be cleared up, nothing to be excused. I put out of the question Liberius' supposed letters in the 'Fragments' of S. Hilary, since Bishop Hefele's complete demolition of their genuineness. S. Hilary himself was, in fact, a warm admirer of Liberius.[1]

Jungmann's 'Vindiciæ Liberii,' p. 54.

The only other professed historical accounts that can be quoted in favour of a fall on the part of Liberius, if we except S. Athanasius (with whose account we shall deal presently) are by Sozomen and S. Jerome.

Now Sozomen, in this portion of his history, is admitted to be sometimes inaccurate, and he himself expressly tells us that such was the confusion of accounts as to the Arian troubles, that he is not to be considered a liar, if he is discovered to be wrong in his narration. His narrative, however, does not oblige us to believe that Liberius signed anything positively heretical. The account would be satisfied if we suppose that Liberius signed something which was open merely to the charge of reticence. We know that Athanasius did not consider reticence as to the word Homo-ousion to partake of the nature of heresy. But, in point of fact, Sozomen's whole account bristles with errors and impossibilities. It is irreconcileable with that of S. Hilary on one point; and with other accounts on a second; whilst, on a third, he is

[1] See *Revue des Questions Historiques*, liv. i.

plainly wrong. It looks as if he had mixed up Catholic and Arian documents, and let some of the Arian calumnies creep into his account.

But what of the quotation from S. Jerome, 'he (Liberius) subscribed to heretical depravity'?

Tom. xii. S. Jerome.

Now these words are quoted as from S. Jerome's 'Chronicon,' a book of which Tillemont says: 'Scaliger assure qu'il n'y a point de livres, dont les exemplaires et manuscrits et imprimés soient plus pleins de fautes.' The passage in which the words occur bears the marks of an addition, copied in from an untrustworthy source, the preface to the Libellus precum Faustini et Marcellini. Besides, we should have to suppose that S. Jerome knew of the supposed lapse, at the very time when he was speaking of Damasus as the successor of the Fisherman, whom he followed as the authoritative exponent of the Faith; when he was speaking of the See of S. Peter as the 'rock on which the Church is built, I know.' It is in the highest degree improbable that S. Jerome would have written as he did, if he knew that Liberius had 'subscribed to heretical depravity.' Again, the supposed passage from the 'Viri Illustr.' makes Liberius betray the faith, 'when going into exile,' which will not square with any account.

And further, the words quoted as from the 'Chronicon' are not in the oldest MS. of this work of S. Jerome's, whilst in another important MS. there is a lacuna, without sufficient space for this imaginary sentence. And lastly, Rufinus, S. Jerome's contemporary, can ascertain nothing about Liberius having subscribed; and Cassiodorus, having before him Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and S. Jerome's 'Chronicon,' and his 'Viri Illustr.' (which he praises) yet has nothing about Liberius' supposed fall!

But what are we to say of the words so often quoted as S. Athanasius'? They are: 'After a banishment of two

'years, his courage was broken, and he subscribed, through 'fear of death, with which he was threatened. But . . . 'acts done under torture, contrary to the mind's original 'decision, are acts of the tormentors, not of their victims.'

And there is a similar passage to this which is positively inaccurate. It says that after two years Liberius returned from exile, which is unquestionably inaccurate.

And yet it is difficult to believe, well-nigh inconceivable, that S. Athanasius could have been mistaken on such a point as this. Yet mistaken he was, if the passage is really his. A visit to Sirmium would by no means satisfy his words. Then, the assertion that Liberius signed in fear of death does not square with the accounts of Sulpitius Severus, or Socrates, or Theodoret. How could they have been ignorant of this, or, knowing it, have passed it over?

Further, it is admitted that these two passages in S. Athanasius which relate to Liberius' supposed fall, were, if written by Athanasius, a subsequent addition to his book. His Apology was finished in A.D. 352, and his history before the supposed lapse of Liberius took place. Could he have added these passages afterwards? It would be a strange supposition; and stranger still considering that Socrates and Theodoret, writing subsequently, and making use of his account, step by step, do not follow him in this supposed incident, nor *even allude* to it; nor does even Sozomen's account agree with this supposed narrative.

Nor is the passage, according to many good judges, in the style of S. Athanasius; and the Saint nowhere alludes to his supposed addition on so important an event. The Greek is not as good as his, and the reasoning is very unlike S. Athanasius'.

Again, whilst Mr. Gore is too positive in his assertion as to what S. Athanasius would say, if one whom he

considered to be, in a unique sense, guardian of the faith, had subscribed to heretical depravity, still there is a certain amount of truth in his supposition that S. Athanasius might well be expected to say something more, or different from what he did. But this is true also on the supposition of the 'pre-eminence of the See' of Rome, which Mr. Gore admits.

In short, the difficulty of supposing these words to be those of S. Athanasius is overwhelming, and we are justified in, at least, doubting them to be his.[1]

On the whole, then, we can say with safety that the case against this glorious confessor and martyr for the faith, whom S. Athanasius so highly praises in his unquestioned writings, is 'not proven.'

We know for certain that the Emperor made every endeavour to win Liberius; not, be it noted, so much to sign any creed, as to condemn Athanasius.[2] He would have been quite content if Liberius would have condemned the Saint on the charges of immorality which, as was their custom, the heretics had brought against him. The heathen historian tells us how the Emperor felt that, although he seemed to have gained his end by winning over the mass of bishops to condemn Athanasius, he could not rest until he had succeeded in gaining the seal and confirmation of 'that authority in which the bishops 'of the eternal city surpass the rest (*potiores*).' But in vain. Liberius stood firm, and was banished. No scene in history is grander than the interview of Liberius with the heterodox Emperor; nothing would induce the old man to yield. So Liberius departed—an admiration to all, says S. Athanasius. He returned from exile, according to the witness of contemporary literature, at the prayers

Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 7.

[1] See also S. Liber. Ep. 13, for S. Athan. estimate.

[2] 'Ce n'était pas la foy dont les grands Ariens se mettoient en peine.'—TILLEMONT, vi. 2, 69.

and tears of the Romans, whose attachment to their Pontiff was unswerving. He returned, too, by the Emperor's leave, but contrary to his wish, *παρὰ τὴν γνώμην* (Socrates, ii. 37), which would hardly have been the case if he had really condemned Athanasius, or signed an heretical creed. His subsequent rule was that of an unbending champion of the faith. There was no recantation, no excuse made, no question raised. The Arians, we know, spread abroad the rumour that he had in some way compromised the faith; but those who care for S. Athanasius' fair fame will not credit Arian calumnies about the Bishop of Rome. It was not considered worth while anyone's defending the Pontiff, as there was nothing worth refuting. He died with the crown of the martyr, and S. Epiphanius, and S. Basil, and S. Siricius speak of him as 'that blessed bishop,' without a suspicion of any stain on his name, and Theodoret enters into his praises without alluding to any sort of lapse. The historians Socrates and Sozomen know of the calumnies, but not of any facts to support them, and S. Ambrose speaks of his blessed memory and his holiness of life. The forgeries, as they certainly are in S. Hilary, and as they probably are in the text of S. Athanasius, and the supposititious insertion in S. Jerome's 'Chronicon,' are due, it has been thought, with much show of probability, to the Luciferian Schismatics.

Sozomen, iv. 15.

But besides all the other contemporary evidence, which is not merely negative, but under the circumstances assumes a positive character, what are we to say of the incidental expression in the letter of the bishops, who left the Macedonian sect, addressed to Liberius, in which they speak of him as one who 'has always stood firm'? This was after his return—five or six years after the Council of Rimini.

To sum up. I have omitted much for fear of

crowding my pages with too many dry historical facts ; but what I have adduced lands us in this difficulty: if we believe that the additions to S. Athanasius' works are by his own hands and to be trusted, what explanation can be given of the fact that the contemporary orthodox world could speak of Liberius in the enthusiastic way in which it does, with no apparent consciousness that he had ever been under a cloud, or failed in his duty—that there is no syllable recording Liberius' regret for his supposed fall, in spite of his admitted sanctity, no sign of sorrow, no confession of fault, and that he was appealed to by bishops returning to the faith, as one who had 'always stood firm,' in contrast with themselves? And all this, when the supposed lapse rests only on a later addition to Athanasius' works, spoiling their unity—on letters which Hefele shows have every mark of being spurious—and on a passage in S. Jerome, not in the oldest MS. and found in another book, or on a misapprehension of the words of Socrates and Sozomen, who probably record only Arian calumnies.

It will, possibly, be said that there must have been something to account for the supposition, even on the part of Arian calumniators. This, of course, is a necessity that a Christian will be slow to admit, as we know that calumny may rest on nothing. Pilate 'knew 'that for envy they had delivered Him.' But there was a scene at Rimini, which may afford a clue to the origin of these rumours about the Pope. When he received the lapsed bishops into communion, in the exercise of his commission to loose, and of a forbearance which Athanasius would have praised, a Puritan spirit evinced itself in the Luciferians, who went out, and uttered a number of calumnies against Pope Damasus, and said that Liberius 'manus perfidiæ dedit.' An incident like this shows what was 'in the air.' It is quite possible that Liberius may

have taken the same line as S. Athanasius did on occasion, in treating the *semi*-Arians as friends, and this would have been enough for Luciferian animosity. That he went further seems to be negatived, as well by the considerations mentioned above, as by the fact of his having endeared himself in so marked a way with the Romans. We know from Theodoret that their complaint against Felix, whom the Emperor had placed at Rome, was, that though he preserved the Nicene formula intact, he communicated freely with the waverers. 'And on this account 'no one of the Roman citizens entered the church whilst he (Felix) was inside.' Their enthusiastic welcome of Liberius shows that they, at any rate, had no knowledge of his having in any way compromised his position as guardian of the Faith.

Jungmann, 'Vindiciæ Liberii,' p. 64.

Even if Athanasius' account were certainly genuine, Athanasius is himself careful to tell us that a signature, under such circumstances, had no value. It would not compromise the inerrancy of the Holy See, but it is difficult to fit in any sort of compromising signature to the actual historical setting.

One thing at least is certain, and that is, that the life of Liberius, as a whole, impressed itself deeply on the mind of the Catholic world, as a glorious witness to the faith of Nicæa. His name is found in several ancient Martyrologies, and the Greeks assign August 27 to his memory. He was, in fact, one more of that long list of illustrious pontiffs, who brought it about that—as Mr. Gore admits, on the whole, or as we should say, all along the line—'the orthodoxy of the See of Rome was conspicuous through all the controversies on the Trinity and the Incarnation' (p. 193.) The statement of the author of the 'Roman Question' on the subject is simply inexplicable, and can only be called a libel on the saintly occupants of the Holy See. But Mr. Gore, with wider

knowledge, admits too much for his cause. And he fails to see the *coincidence* between our Lord's promise to S. Peter and this marvellous orthodoxy of the Holy See. Compare the raging heresies of the East. How was it that Rome, and Rome alone, kept so clear of the heresies that disgraced the See of Constantinople? How was it that Rome, in her Imperial days, always resisted, and Constantinople mostly yielded to, Imperial dictation in the things of God? The only answer to be given is contained in our Lord's promise to S. Peter.

CHAPTER V.

HONORIUS DECLINING TO DEFINE.

MR. GORE ('R. C. Claims,' p. 100) claims it as a 'fact' that the bishops of the Sixth General Council in condemning the Pope, *i.e.* Honorius, showed that they had not even a 'rudimentary idea of the papal infallibility' and he argues, that in consideration of the case of Liberius, the 28th canon of Chalcedon, and the history of Honorius, the 'belief in the universal pastorate and the doctrinal infallibility of the Pope, can in no sense be described as part of the Catholic 'faith.' He considers that he has 'demonstrated' this; and Dr. Pusey considered the case of Honorius fatal to the infallibility of the Holy See. What are the facts?

Amongst the perfections of our blessed Lord, is that of a perfect human Will, that never knew perplexity in its designs, nor inconstancy in its resolves; firm, tranquil, ready, and sensitive to the faintest indications of the Divine Will; surpassing the will of angels, for they once could, but He never could, swerve or falter in complete and prompt obedience. This radical impossibility of error was due, as S. Dionysius teaches, not to the grace of unction, but to the Hypostatic union. That human Will, intimately adhering to the Divine Nature, anointed with the unction of substantial holiness, was personally set in motion, directed, and governed in every act by the Word. In the words of the Sixth General Council, 'as our body is governed and adorned, and ordered b

'our intellectual and rational soul, so, in the Man Christ, 'His entire human nature was always, and in all things 'moved by the Divinity of the Word, as the instrument of 'GOD.'

And it is an essential feature of the economy of our redemption that there should be a created will, as well as a Divine, in the one Person of the Saviour, for, as S. Maximus says, 'that which is not assumed, cannot be 'healed.'

But further, there is in our Lord's human Nature, what is sometimes called the will of the reason and the will of the senses; but between the two, there is not, and there cannot be, contrariety. In the Agony, the will of the senses expressed itself, but was incapable of disobedience, for it was not wounded by the fall, and it was the will of the Eternal Word. There was no triumph of one over the other, for there was no rebellion, no faintest wish that it might be otherwise. In a word, the operation of the human will (with its two departments) is distinct from the operation of the Divine in the selfsame Person of the Word, but, whilst distinct, incapable of contrariety.

But we owe the tradition of this fundamental truth of 'two operations' in the Incarnate Word to those saintly bishops who occupied the See of Rome during the greater part of the seventh century. From Severinus, who first condemned an Imperial edict, which favoured the opposite heresy of Monothelism, to S. Leo II., who confirmed the acts of the Sixth General Council, Pope after Pope opposed that fascinating heresy, in the exercise of their supreme guardianship of the Faith. One Pope failed at the commencement of the struggle, before its significance was clearly seen. To what did Honorius' failure amount?

Mr. Gore would have us ignore all consideration as to Honorius' personal orthodoxy and as to whether he was

condemned only for neglect. He dismisses these two contentions with a lofty wave of the hand. But what, if these very considerations are necessary to enable us to understand what the Council meant by what it said of Honorius? It is like asking us to agree with him to an *ignoratio elenchi*. He ought to be concerned with these, though he says he is not; and he ought also to prove and not assume that a Council is authoritative except so far as its decrees are confirmed by the Pope. Failing to do this, he fails altogether. He ought to have taken the infallibility as defined by the Vatican Council, not as imagined by himself; and he should have shown that *that* is infringed by the case of Honorius; or he fights with a phantom. There must be some instance quoted of Honorius issuing an *ex cathedrâ* decree, or what is the use of speaking of 'the papal infallibility' being contravened? But the history of Honorius, we shall see, not only shows no contradiction to the dogma of the Papal Infallibility, but it illustrates with special emphasis the belief of the Church in that which Mr. Gore denies on the strength of that very history, viz. the universal pastorate of the Bishops of Rome, and their unique relationship to the guardianship of the Faith. For if there is one fact that stands out from the whole history of the Sixth Council, it is surely the universal acceptance of Papal authority.

A heresy touching the Incarnation had found its way into the Church, viz. Monothelism, or the teaching that in Christ there was but one Will.

The Emperor dealt first with Domnus, the Pope (676–8), and then with Agatho (678–82), about convening a Council (the 6th) at Constantinople, *under the presidency of the legates of the Apostolic See.*

We have already said that the Popes were the vigilant defenders of the Faith against the encroachments of this heresy. After Severinus, John IV. opposed the Emperor,

with his Ecthesis. Theodorus deposed the heretical Eastern prelates, and subscribed the document condemning Monothelism with a pen dipped in the chalice. S. Martin incurred the Imperial displeasure in the same holy cause. Vitalian was conspicuous for his zeal in maintaining the dogma; and Domnus, in his brief pontificate, contributed his share in the suppression of the heresy. At length came S. Agatho, so famed for his sanctity and sweetness; and Pogonatus ascended the Imperial throne, fired with zeal for the orthodox faith. S. Agatho accordingly held a preliminary Synod at Rome, at which three French bishops amongst others were present, and Theodorus and Sergius were commissioned to represent the Pope at the forthcoming Council. They were to carry with them two letters, in the first of which the plainest possible statement is made concerning the inerrancy of the Holy See. Nothing can be stronger than the assertions it contains on this head. It also says: 'The Lord and Saviour of all, who 'promised that the faith of Peter should not fail, ad- 'monished him to strengthen his brethren, which it is well 'known the Apostolic Pontiffs, the predecessors of my low- 'liness, *have ever faithfully done*.'[1] He tells the Council that his legates are not men greatly versed in the science of the Scriptures, nor illustrious in eloquence (perhaps a sly allusion to the subtleties of the heterodox East), but that they have something better, viz., a full knowledge of 'the 'tradition of the Apostolic See, as it has been maintained 'by my predecessors, the Apostolic Pontiffs.'

The Council assembled at Constantinople, the Papal legates presiding. These letters of Agatho were read and received *without demur*.[2] The Patriarch of Constan-

[1] This was more than forty years after Honorius' death.

[2] The Sixth Council therefore practically set its seal to the principle of Papal infallibility.

tinople, who had wavered, was now converted to the faith. The Patriarch of Antioch proved heretical and was deposed. The bishops asked that the testimonies of the Fathers might be examined, a privilege always accorded by the Holy See to bishops.

In the twelfh Act, the letter of Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Pope Honorius, which was full of Monothelite teaching, was read ; and then the Pope's letter to Sergius. There was nothing heretical in the Pope's letter ; but he had wished such matters not to be discussed, instead of reproving the Patriarch. And he discountenanced the expression 'two energies' which *he* applied to *contrariant* wills in our Lord's *human nature* : whilst really Sergius and his followers were using it of the separate natures of our Blessed Lord, in which sense it was vital truth. In fact, he had shrunk from defining : he had missed an opportunity of exercising his infallibility.

In the thirteenth Act they condemn Sergius and others, as heretics, *pure and simple*—and then they add a *separate sentence* about Honorius, in which they say that he 'in all things followed the wish of Sergius and '(so) confirmed his impious dogmas.'

We must remember that Sergius had deceived Honorius as to the state of things, and so got his way, inducing Honorius not to condemn him, under false pretences.

In the sixteenth Act they shouted anathema to Honorius' name.

In the eighteenth, in an address to the Emperor, after anathematising the rest, they add, *separately, as though there were some distinction*, 'and with them Honorius, 'who was Ruler of Rome, who followed them in these 'things.' In their letter to Agatho, they advance a step further, mixing Honorius' name with the rest, and say that they have destroyed with anathemas Sergius,

Honorius, &c. The Emperor says in his edict that certain of those that ruled in the Church 'contaminated 'the Churches with contagion of this sort,' and adds, 'besides Honorius, who was Pope of old Rome, the 'strengthener of this kind of heresy'; and again: 'Honorium . . . qui fuit antiquæ Romæ papa, horum 'hæreseos in omnibus fautorem, concursorem atque con-'firmatorem.'

All through, the stress is laid on some sort of aid and sanction given by Honorius, whether direct or indirect, to downright heretics, without attributing to him any personal heterodoxy.

Two main facts have here to be borne in mind. 1. Honorius issued no definition to teach the Church. His letter to Sergius was kept at Constantinople and brought out afterwards. 2. The Conciliar decree is only of value so far as it is accepted and confirmed by the Roman pontiff.

Now Leo II., a pontiff specially remarkable for his holiness, his love of Holy Scripture and of the poor, in confirming the decrees of the Council (for S. Agatho had died), *modified this particular decree*, virtually deciding that Honorius was not personally heretical, but that he did not repress the heresy at once, as became the occupant of the Holy See. He failed in his duty, *as the Superior of Sergius*, the Patriarch of Constantinople. So that Honorius' endeavour to keep things quiet was a serious dereliction of duty, and merited censure, but only on the supposition that to him belonged the care of all the Churches. Accordingly S. Leo II. did not shrink from condemning Honorius in the letter which he wrote to the Emperor to confirm the decrees of the Council. He says: 'We anathematize' [and, be it noted, it was the accepted doctrine all round that all the anathemas shouted out by the prelates against the Patriarch of Constantinople

and Honorius the Pope were valueless unless confirmed by the reigning Pope]—'we anathematize Theodorus, '&c., &c.,' and then *separately*: 'Honorius, qui hanc apo-'stolicam ecclesiam non apostolicæ traditionis doctrina 'lustravit, sed profana proditione immaculatam maculari 'permisit. ἀλλὰ τῇ βεβήλῳ προδοσίᾳ μιανθῆναι ἄσπιλον 'παρεχώρησε.' The present Latin text is incorrect, whilst the Greek agrees with what Leo wrote in his letter to King Erwig. And, in his letter to the bishops of Spain, Leo explains the case of Honorius still more fully: 'Qui flam-'mam hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit apostolicam auc-'toritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit.' ('Who did not at once put out the flame of heretical 'teaching, but encouraged it through his neglect.')

The whole point, therefore, of Honorius' condemnation lies in the supposition that it was the province of the Holy See to guard the Faith throughout the world.

Looking, then, to all the facts of the case, we must conclude, in opposition to Mr. Gore's contention, that it cannot be proved that the bishops in the Council meant to brand Honorius with personal heresy, and that, if any of them meant this, their wish was denied them by failure of confirmation on the part of Leo II. In point of fact, the term 'heretic' in those times was not so determined as afterwards in canon law. It had a wider meaning, and a Roman pontiff, who did not at once detect a heresy and insist on a Patriarch of Constantinople submitting to withdraw an heretical letter, would, if the heresy it contained afterwards grew in the Church be considered sufficiently remiss in his duty to be stamped with the name of heretic.

See Jungmann, Diss. de Honorio.

The case, then, stands thus: That Monothelism was extruded from the Church by the aid of the Holy See and its saintly occupants during the seventh century, is matter of unquestioned history. But one occupant of

that See stained his otherwise glorious pontificate by endeavouring to keep the peace, taking too kindly a view of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had led him into a trap by most unworthy devices. This is a fact which led to his condemnation. But it is one which brings out nothing so clearly as the universal pastorate of the See of Rome and its unique responsibility towards the Faith.

And one must not overlook the supposition that the passionate vehemence with which those Oriental prelates shouted their anathemas possibly had a very human motive. It was doubtless a consolation to them that, whilst so many of their own number, Patriarchs and Metropolitans, were tainted with heresy, they could add at least this extenuating circumstance, viz. that their senior Patriarch (Sergius) had been encouraged by a failure of duty on the part of the Apostolic See through its not nipping the heresy in the bud. Their case amounted to this: 'No doubt Sergius was a heretic. 'But why did not Honorius check him? Let us condemn 'them both. Anathema! anathema!'

And they were right. But what is the moral of the history as a whole? That the tolerance of heresy is the worst of conceivable ills, and that keenness of perception and zeal in the destruction of heresy is the first duty of a bishop. It is dangerous ground for an Anglican to tread, and Mr. Gore has warned us off it, and says he will not tread it. 'We are not concerned at present with these 'contentions' (p. 100). And yet the case cannot be fairly judged on any other ground. It is, I say, dangerous ground for an Anglican to tread, for 300 years of indifference to heresy in a great portion of the Christian Revelation would, were there no other grounds of condemnation, be fatal to the Anglican claim to be part of the Catholic Church. When the Easterns pleaded on

behalf of Acacius, their Patriarch, that he was not personally heretical, but had only connived at heresy, the Roman Pontiff replied: 'Error cui non resistitur 'approbatur, et veritas cum minime defensatur oppri-'mitur.' ('Not to resist error is to sanction it, and not to 'defend truth is to destroy it.') Accordingly his name was erased from the diptychs. The same measure of justice was dealt to Honorius for his remissness in dealing with a rising trouble, which he had hoped might die a natural death. Few things are more beautiful in history than the majestic calmness with which Leo II. corrected the intemperate language of the Council, but at the same time condemned his predecessor for not acting as the supreme guardian of the Christian Faith. Subsequent Councils and Pontiffs joined in S. Leo's condemnation, but in his only, not in the language of the excited bishops. Hadrian II. expressly alludes to this fact, and the Roman Breviary echoed the condemnation until, men perversely misunderstanding that condemnation, its mention was in charity removed.

But, in spite of Honorius' neglect in this part of his duty, we owe him a debt of gratitude in other respects. We English owe him much: he it was who did so much for the churches of Great Britain. The city of Rome, too, owed much of its splendour to his care. He was, says a contemporary writer, 'sagacious of mind, vigorous 'in judgment, clear in doctrine, abounding in sweetness 'and humility.' S. Maximus calls him 'great Honorius,' and the Roman clergy described his virtues in a remarkable epitaph.

One thing, then, Honorius never did—he never taught the Church anything heretical. One failure he certainly showed—a failure in detecting an Eastern Patriarch's wiles, and sternly reprimanding an incipient heresy. He had already gone to his Judge when

his cause was decided, leaving the memory of an illustrious reign, which was the paramount thought of his contemporaries. But this estimate of his reign was, as we have seen, afterwards revoked by posterity, on the ground of 'negligence' in the primary duty of the Universal Pastor of the Church. Had he been more diligent he must have seen that the heretics were not using the phrase 'two operations' of contrariant wills in our Lord's Human Nature, as he seems to have fancied, but of the two natures in His Divine Person, in denying which they denied the Faith.

The result, then, of our investigation is, that neither the history of Liberius, either signing a harmless document or having signed none at all; nor the abortive effort of some of the Oriental bishops to get a canon passed in favour of Constantinople, to the detriment of Alexandria and Antioch; nor the case of Honorius, failing to rise to the tremendous responsibilities of the Supreme Guardian of the Faith, afford any support to the Anglican theory, as explained by Mr. Gore.

On the contrary, a Council that accepted Agatho's letters, asserting the inerrancy of the Holy See, cannot be supposed to have stultified itself by condemning a previous occupant for official heresy. It was, on the other hand, natural that, accepting the truth of the infallibility of that See in its formal teaching on matters of faith, it should press the condemnation of one who, whilst not formally teaching anything heterodox, had yet failed to exercise his prerogative of Universal Pastor, by not dealing summarily with an offender—even though that offender was the Patriarch of Constantinople.

It is instructive to notice that Dr. Döllinger, who has gone counter to other historians, of equal weight, in this matter of Honorius, should have himself exhibited theological error on the particular doctrine which Honorius

ought to have driven out of the Church, and which his successors did. He has a passage on the Agony of our Lord, the crucial test of orthodoxy on this matter, which would have sent a thrill of horror through Honorius, and for which he would have been stigmatised by S. Leo II. as teaching heresy.

'First Age of Christianity,' Eng. Trans. vol. i. p. 54.

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER VI., THE POLITICAL ECCLESIASTIC.

FEW names have figured more frequently in the controversy between Rome and Anglicanism than that of Alexander VI. It is a name with which the Anglican conjures. Can you believe the successors of S. Peter to be infallible in their teaching office, when there is a Roderigo Borgia amongst them?

The first private letter that I received from England after my reception into the Church contained his name. When in a pamphlet I spoke of Barlow's character, to show that he might be supposed capable of going through the ceremony of consecration without having been himself consecrated, Mr. Gore replied by alluding to Alexander VI., asking whether he should give a life of that Pope, for, he said, 'it would be as much to the 'point.' Of course, it would not have been at all to the point, for Alexander did not start the Papacy, whereas Barlow did, according to the argument, start the new succession. But the name of Alexander VI. was sufficient to delight the 'Church Times,' which specially drew the attention of its readers to the 'neatness' of the reply. Yes, Alexander VI.!—it is to some minds a sufficient answer to all the evidences for the Divine institution of the Papacy.

'Remarks on "Dust,"' p. 9.

A recent writer, Mr. Woodhouse, has said, 'Let it be 'granted that Christ deputed His authority to Peter. Let

'it be allowed that the earlier Bishops of Rome were the 'successors of S. Peter, possessing all the rights and 'privileges with which he is said to have been entrusted. 'What then?'

His answer is that 'the intention of Christ' has been 'frustrated by man's wickedness, and the charter of the 'Papacy has been torn and cancelled.' And Dr. Littledale, in ridiculous ignorance of the Church's teaching on the whole subject, ends his list of the Popes with Alexander VI., or rather with his predecessor.[1]

It is a fact, however, that the history of Alexander VI. had indirectly something to do with my own conversion.

At the same time that my confidence in Dr. Pusey's accuracy received a rude shock (see p. 186), I had the opportunity of perusing a letter written to a friend of mine under the following circumstances. My friend, an English clergyman, had grave doubts about his position, and he applied for assistance to one who holds a foremost place amongst English Churchmen for learning and eloquence; he was one to whom I have myself looked up through life with the greatest admiration. My friend had spoken, amongst *other* difficulties, of the following. 'Can one honestly work in the Church of England while '*not* assenting to those articles which treat of the Seven 'Sacraments, Purgatory, and General Councils, and while '*disbelieving* the Homily which says, that "the whole of '"Christendom prior to the Reformation was steeped in '"damnable idolatry for 800 years," &c.?'

The reply of the divine, who is certainly one of the greatest ornaments of the Church of England, was as follows:—

'As for the sentence from the Homily which you

[1] See Rev. P. Dichamp on *Has there been a disappearance of the Papacy?* Art and Book Company, Leamington, 1*d*.

'quote, it is an instance of the passion and exaggeration 'which were natural, though not therefore admirable, at a 'period such as that of the Reformation. Unless it is to 'be said that we are bound to subscribe to every proposi- 'tion in the Homilies, because we say that their general 'teaching was useful in the times when they were written, 'there can be no reason for discomfort on the score of 'such a saying. For my own part I do not hesitate to say 'that there are many other propositions in the Homilies 'which I do not agree to; and this, I apprehend, would 'be the case with the great majority of the clergy. A 'series of highly rhetorical discourses cannot be turned 'into a test of theological truth or error.'

I merely stop, for a moment, to point out what a false conscience has been formed on such matters by members of the English Church. If there was any book I thoroughly detested, it was this book of Homilies. It contradicted most of my teaching, and that of those with whom I worked. Yet I signed an Article, giving my assent and consent to it, which declared that this same book 'doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and 'necessary for these times, as doth the former book of 'Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward 'the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in 'churches by the ministers, diligently and distinctly, that 'they may be understanded of the people.' (Article XXXV.)

If asked what I meant by saying that I assented and consented to that Article, I should have replied that you might find some truth in the book of Homilies mixed with a vast amount of error and falsehood. If asked whether I could ever have read these Homilies from the pulpit, I should have been obliged to reply, 'Not for the 'world!' And yet they were written for that purpose, and the framers of the Article unquestionably contemplated

the advisability of such an use of the Homilies. I held that, though they were not true, they did very well for that period, when so little truth was held. Of course, I look with abhorrence on such special pleading now, and wonder how I could ever have rested content with such a defence. But it was a necessity of our position. We were not really teaching the same as they taught in the early days of the so-called Reformation. We were undoing a great part of that work. And yet if I had refused to sign the Articles, which I always detested from the bottom of my heart, I could not have held any position in the Church of England.

But the writer continues :—

'At the same time, in order to understand the 'language of the Homily, you should read for yourself 'something about the state of profound corruption which 'provoked it, and which explains, if it does not justify, ex-'aggeration. Read, *e.g.*, Burchard's "Diarium." Burchard 'was master of the Apostolical Palace, and a Bishop. His 'account of Alexander VI. is not really open to question 'on the score of accuracy. He had no motive for speak-'ing ill of the Pope, and kept his diary for his own eye. 'If the "Vicar of Christ" was such as he describes, 'who can wonder at what happened in the century which 'succeeded?'

Alexander VI. again! But there is this advantage in the above writer's statements, that he gives his authority.

Now let us remember that this is a defence given by the person to whom, of all others, many of us have been most inclined to listen in the Church of England. And it is written to enable a clergyman, a teacher of truth, to remain where he was. It fell like a bombshell amongst the defences I had heaped up in my own mind.

I asked myself, did the lives of some of the High Priests of Israel nullify the Divine institution? Could the

life of Alexander explain the language of the Article about the books of Homilies containing this monstrous assertion (to be 'diligently and distinctly read to the people') that 'the whole of Christendom prior to the Reformation was steeped in damnable idolatry for 800 years?' Could the life of Alexander VI. 'explain' Cranmer or Henry VIII.? Did they even refer to it, or think of it? Is it not the fact that *the entire Episcopate of England, fully half a century after the death of Alexander VI., declared before God and man that the Bishop of Rome was the successor of S. Peter, and as such, the Divinely appointed Head of the Church under Christ?* Did they not beg that they might be allowed to pay him obedience as such? and did they not undergo prison, and exile, and death rather than renounce their allegiance to one who they were sure was their Lord, under the Divine Head of the Church?

See Froude's 'Hist. of Eng.' vi. 165

Is it possible that Cranmer, whose life was at times hardly more exemplary than Alexander VI.'s, had his faith in the least shaken by the life of that Pontiff or of any others? Nay, did not Henry VIII. himself write a most able defence of the Papacy fourteen years after the death of Alexander, and appeal to the common sense of mankind as to whether such an institution as the Papacy could have imposed itself on the world, if not backed by a Divine promise, and assistance?

Still, Alexander lived, and his life is a greater difficulty to some people now than it was to his own generation. When Savonarola was inhibited from preaching, he could storm against the occupant of the Holy See, listening to the inventiveness of Florentine calumny; but he did not venture to deny the Divine character of the institution itself. When Charles VIII. wanted to further his ambitious schemes, he could ignore his own lascivious life, and, bad as he was, accuse his political adversary, seated on the throne of S. Peter, of simony and worldliness.

But it remains true, that Alexander the Sixth's reign by no means conduced towards the idea that the Holy See was not the Divinely appointed centre of unity, and the source of spiritual jurisdiction, to the extent that some people imagine. Men knew well enough that, as amongst High Priests there could be a Caiaphas, and amongst Apostles a Judas, so amongst Popes there could be worse even than a Roderigo Borgia, and yet the institution remain Divine.

See Hübner's 'Sixte V.' Introduction, iv.

But was Alexander VI. what he is so often imagined to have been? What is the value of Burchard's 'Diarium' which is so much relied upon? And what is its actual testimony? I can claim some acquaintance with this diary, as edited by Thuasne, massive as the volumes are.

The writer of the above letter somewhat confuses matters by calling Burchard 'Master of the Apostolic 'Palace, and a Bishop.' At the time he wrote his diary, or such parts of it as he did write, he was 'Master of the 'Ceremonies'—quite an external office, which did not admit him to close intimacy with the Pope in his daily life. Consequently little as one would imagine it from the above writer's statement, the observations on the Pope's private life in his diary are rare. If one were to take Burchard's 'Diarium' as a full account of Alexander VI. one would have to suppose the Pope to have been occupied with hardly anything but Masses and State ceremonies, for Burchard was not an eye-witness of anything else.[1] The two or three glimpses into Alexander's private life are not those of an eye-witness. Burchard was not a bishop during Alexander's lifetime; and, according to his successor in the office he held, he was

[1] 'Sa fonction l'appelait à la sacristie et à la chapelle pontifi-'cale. . . . Personne ne lui attribue une fonction d'antichambre.' Mons. J. Favé.

'supra omnes bestias bestialissimus' ('more bestial than all 'beasts.') This, of course, may be exaggeration, although it is the witness of one who was first his colleague, and afterwards his successor in office. It is hard to know what to believe of that age of lies. Burchard appears, from his diary, to have been nothing worse than an empty-headed, conceited man, and probably not of the most refined character. His successor calls him *inhumanissimus*—most unlike a man, and considers his diary utterly unworthy of credit, even in the ceremonial part, of which he was an eye-witness. If Burchard could not be trusted on that, one feels it would be difficult to trust him on anything else, and that there may be something in his successor's remarks, that the diary had better have been committed to the flames, on the score of inaccuracy.

And have we the diary itself?

See Leonetti, 'Papa Alessandro VI.' vol. iii., and M. Thuasne, 'Notice Biographique,' p. liv.

The original MS. has not yet been discovered. The earliest copy, confessedly only a copy, was first published 200 years after Burchard's death. Leibnitz had only Latin and French morsels. Eccard claimed to have published the whole diary from a Berlin manuscript, and confessed that it was defective. There are six different and contradictory copies of the diary in the Vatican, and the chief manuscript, on which M. Thuasne relies so much, does not resemble any of them in style or facts. Where is the original? Was it penned wholly in Italian, as Bayle surmised, or wholly in Latin, or partly in French, Italian, and Latin, but never in *German*, Burchard's mother-tongue? Whoever wrote it, wrote some of it long after the events happened. Once he says, 'Rescripsi *diu* post rem gestam.' It is, by the admission of Thuasne himself, interpolated; and I regret to say that the marks of interpolation are so minute that I have caught myself reading as Burchard's what is not

his, without noticing the tiny bracket, some pages before, indicating the interpolation.

To what, then, does Burchard's witness amount?

In the first place he is no witness to the supposed simony of Alexander's election. The opening portion of his second volume, in which the account occurs, is an admitted interpolation, and from Infessura, a most untrustworthy source, according to Professor Creighton.

In the second place, the glimpses of the Pope's private life are rare; and it is precisely in these that we find such expressions as 'they say it is reported,' 'if what 'they say is true.' And we know what Italian gossip at that period meant, even from so poetical a writer as Mr. Symonds.

In the third place, what are the two or three passages which are most compromising to the Pope?

One of them consists in what a Cardinal taxed the Pope with being and doing, on the occasion of his reconciliation to him, which looks as if the Pope treated such rumours with disdain. At the end, Burchard tells us he cannot vouch for the truth of this.

Another consists of an account of a night's orgie in Cæsar Borgia's rooms, at which Burchard says the Pope and Lucretia were both present. And the third is a scene in the Piazza, which the same personages are said to have gazed at in amused curiosity.

Now with regard to the orgies on one particular night —the only occasion—the description simply baffles belief. I have no h sitation in saying, 'Believe it who 'can.' Burchard does not profess to have been an eye-witness. The Pope was not well at the time, and obliged to keep his room, and to absent himself from his usual duties so punctiliously, so unvaryingly performed through his whole pontificate. That any amount of hideous orgies might go on in Cæsar Borgia's rooms is perhaps credible

enough, but that Alexander and Lucretia were present, in any compromising way, requires more evidence than we have. Moreover the 'confirmation' that M. Thuasne offers is most suspicious. Of the two 'confirmatory' accounts to which he refers, in one the fifty 'courtesans' are fifty 'ladies of the court,' and in the other, the pith of the revels is reduced to dancing and laughter. On another head, Burchard exhibits an entire ignorance of the accusations levelled against the Pope, viz. in connection with Peroto, whose death he describes, but with no allusion to its connection with Alexander.

The real way, indeed, to estimate Burchard's witness is to read through his diary page by page, in spite of its monotony, and to see what idea one gathers of his master on the whole. One of the most damning passages is an interpolation, which therefore ought not to have been published even in brackets, and those to which I have alluded come in with startling abruptness, are incredible in themselves, and are not confirmed by any trustworthy evidence. The mass of Burchard's diary shows Alexander's life to have been one of industry, and care at least as to his public devotions.

And yet it is on this diary that most of the accusations against Alexander have been grounded.

And now if we step beyond this diary, of which the original is not to be found, and in which there are unquestioned interpolations, who is the next greatest authority for all that we know about this Pope? Guicciardini.

Guicciardini's history is the source whence most writers (including even, in too great measure, Professor Creighton, in his 'History of the Papacy') have drawn their information. And yet even Voltaire boiled with indignation at Guicciardini's bad faith. He addressed him thus: 'J'ose dire à Guichardin: L'Europe est trompée par

Diss. sur la mort de Henri IV.

'vous, et vous l'avez été par votre passion. Vous étiez 'l'ennemi du pape; vous avez trop cru votre haine.' This is Voltaire's estimate of Guicciardini's account of Alexander's death. The 'rehabilitation' of Alexander would be a wild and worthless task, which no Catholic would attempt; it is not required by any exigencies of Catholic controversy. But we are bound to be just even to a Borgia. Guicciardini seems quite to lose his balance over the Popes. He even treats as bastards the children of Innocent VIII., born to him in wedlock before he took Holy Orders. Indeed such were his own fears as to the real character of his writings, that on his death-bed he said to a notary, 'Let them burn my History of Italy.' The work was then only in manuscript.

And yet without Burchard and without Guicciardini, where would be all our modern history of Alexander VI.?

There remains Jorry, of whom Bayle says in his dictionary that, 'selon Vossius, il avait monté une espèce 'de banque et promis une ancienne généalogie et une 'gloire immortelle à tous les faquins qui paieraient bien 'son travail, et il déchirait tous ceux qui n'achetaient pas 'ses mensonges.'

Tomaso Tomasi is equally unreliable. He set to work to blacken the Pope, and he succeeded. For 'there is 'an immortality in mendacity, which even chivalry cannot 'vanquish.'

With regard to Guicciardini, we have to remember that he was a child at Florence during Alexander's pontificate, and that he was for two years ambassador at the court of the Pope's supreme enemy, Ferdinand of Naples.

And surely some things are beyond belief even for that age. They are not so much difficulties to a Catholic, as to the philosopher. There are degrees of enormity which I conceive could not have been so calmly tolerated even

cf. Voltaire, xxiv. 91 (1801).

in that corrupt age, in the occupant of the Holy See. If Lucretia had really been what she was painted by Alexander's Florentine foes—if her relations with him, to say nothing of her relations with others, had really been what Guicciardini and Burlamacchi and others made them out to be, is it conceivable that, even in those degenerate days, the citizens of Rome would have endured to be under her government, during Alexander's absence?

Roscoe's 'Life of Leo X.' Diss. on Lucretia, of which the following is a *résumé*.

Lucretia was a woman certainly of remarkable power, and probably of unsullied virtue. Roscoe has successfully vindicated her honour from the foul calumnies with which it has been aspersed. As Roscoe points out, Guicciardini seems to have been acquainted with the Neapolitan poets, who are probably the real source of all the horrible aspersions on her character. A Neapolitan poet at the beginning of the sixteenth century, with an aim—will account for anything. And Guicciardini, the friend of Ferdinand of Naples, the Pope's bitterest foe, was equal to retailing their unblushing falsehoods. Had Alexander VI. not taken the active part he did in expelling the house of Aragon, the Neapolitan poets would have had no cause for their exasperation, and Lucretia would never have been handed down as the Messalina of the Renaissance. According to Guicciardini, the Pope dissolved the marriage with Giovanni Sforza, 'not being able to bear a 'rival'; but he ignores the significance of the fact, that the Pope proceeded at once to marry her to some one else. Even the attention paid to Lucretia's child is suggestive to Guicciardini's foul mind. One charge connected with this child happens to be refuted indirectly by Burchard. Guicciardini attributes the death of Lucretia's husband to Cæsar Borgia, with no foundation for his statement of any kind. Any affection, however virtuous in others, any death that occurs, is material for

this 'historian's' blackening pen. It is to be noticed that, so far as Burchard's diary is concerned, this portion of Guicciardini's allegation receives no kind of support. There is not the most distant insinuation in that diary of the life attributed to Lucretia by Guicciardini. And yet there are places where one would have thought something of the kind must have been mentioned, at least hinted at. But not one single suspicion seems to have crossed the mind of Burchard. The idea had not, it seems, as yet reached Rome.

And if we believe in Lucretia's guilt, for which there is not a tittle of real evidence, we must suppose, with Guicciardini, that the family of Este were bribed or frightened into a marriage which would have been repulsive to the last degree : we must suppose that men like the Duke of Ferrara, or Alphonso, his son, distinguished alike for their virtues and talents, civil and military, beyond any of the sovereigns of the time, would have submitted to have perpetuated their race through the contaminated blood of a known and incestuous prostitute. But they took her into their proud family with no sign of reluctance, and for twenty years she lived amongst them, not merely without reproach, but a highly exemplary life, rigid even to severity in her religious duties, and devoted to works of benevolence and piety : receiving the highest commendations from Leo X.

The testimonies she received from those amongst whom she lived were quite uncommon in their character and number. The testimony of Bembo, her admirer, or of Ercole Strozzi, and Antonio Tebaldeo, may be considered comparatively worthless, though not entirely without their value : but the testimony of historians like Giraldi, Sardi, Libanori, Caviceo, cannot be easily set aside. According to these she was a 'woman of uncommon excellence,' 'a princess adorned with every

virtue,' 'a most beautiful and virtuous princess, endowed 'with every estimable quality of the mind, and with the 'highest polish of understanding'; whilst Caviceo, in his 'Il Peregrino,' considers that he has sufficiently praised the celebrated Isabella of Este, in asserting that she comes next in excellence to Lucretia Borgia. As Roscoe says: 'If the most remote idea had been entertained that 'Lucretia had been the detestable character which the 'Neapolitan poets have represented her, is it to be con-'ceived that this author would have introduced one of 'the first women in Italy, in point of rank, character, and 'accomplishments, as only second to her in merit?'

And Ariosto—is it conceivable that he should have spoken as he did, if the modern idea of Lucretia were true? He represents her 'as rivalling, in the decorum of 'her manners, as well as in the beauty of her person, all 'that former times could boast'—

> clari soboles Lucretia Borgia
> Pulchro ore, et pulchris æquantem moribus, aut quos
> Verax fama refert, aut quos sibi fabula finxit.

And he says that Rome 'ought to prefer the modern 'Lucretia to the Lucretia of antiquity, as well in modesty 'as in beauty.'

Such descriptions would be simply the severest satires if the aspersions under which she laboured had obtained the slightest credit.

Lastly, there is Aldo Manuzio:—'Your chief desire, 'as you have yourself so nobly asserted, is to stand ap-'proved of God, and to be useful not only to the present 'age but to future times,' and then he celebrates her piety. Now, as Roscoe says, if Lucretia had ever been such as she has been described, 'the prostitution of her panegyrists was greater than her own; but of such a degradation, several of the authors before cited were incapable.' And

'Life of Leo X.' Dissert. on Lucretia.

'it is scarcely possible that the flagitious and abominable 'Lucretia, and the respectable and honoured Duchess of 'Ferrara, could be united in the same person.' It is not as if there were some break in her life, and the latter part were the penitential reparation of the former. There is not a trace of this. No; the honoured Duchess of Ferrara is matter of reliable history: the abominable Lucretia is the foul creation of writers who in other matters have shown shameless mendacity. And we may say to Guicciardini of his portraiture of Alexander and Lucretia what Voltaire said to him of his account of Alexander's death: 'Thou hast deceived Europe, and 'thou hast been deceived by thy passions; you were the 'enemy of the Pope, and you have believed your hatred.'

But a virtuous Lucretia means an Alexander relieved of a horrible calumny. The question suggests itself, How much else is false? To form any fair estimate of Alexander we must bear in mind the state of things in Italy at the time he ascended the throne.

A cruel tyrant reigned at Naples in Ferdinand I.; at Florence Piero de' Medici had succeeded Lorenzo, and was soon to be shamefully treated by Savonarola; Milan was under Lodovico il Moro, who was on the eve of inviting the French into Italy, whilst a wild lad ruled France in the person of Charles VIII. Round about Rome itself the petty States were ruled by tyrants, vassals of the pontiff, continually intriguing and rebelling, who gave rise to the saying, 'Better to live under the 'crozier than the lance.' And in Rome itself, the Orsinis and Colonnas had rendered the city almost uninhabitable to respectable characters. Owing to the long sojourn of the Popes at Avignon, the disorder had reached such a height that no less than 200 homicides are said to have been committed in the city within the two previous years. Suddenly, on July 25, 1492, Innocent VIII. was reported

dead. Amongst the cardinals was one of known industry and enterprise; of proved capacity for managing men; according to his bitterest enemy, of 'singular acuteness 'and sagacity, excellent in council, and in all weighty 'matters of incredible concentration of ideas and astute-'ness.' It was Roderigo Borgia. He was unanimously elected, and took the name of Alexander VI. Naples, Florence, France, knew well what sort of man it was with whom they had to deal. Ferdinand wept, and Florence whetted the knife of calumny.

Guicciardini.

The Orsinis and Colonnas knew that their day of reckoning was at hand. The sheep on whom they had preyed like wolves, had a shepherd, and the shepherd could unsheathe a sword as well as handle the crozier. The city of Rome was thrown into a delirium of joy. Men's lives were henceforth safe, and their conscious, ness of deliverance expressed itself in the exaggeration common to the time.

> Cæsare magna fuit: nunc Roma est maxima: Sextus
> Regnat Alexander: ille vir, iste deus.

Never was coronation so grand as that of Alexander VI. and never did a metropolis cling to its ruler more faithfully than the citizens of Rome to the new Pontiff. His first act was to make life safe in the streets of Rome. And as in Rome, so in the States. He was prepared to defend his subjects from the tyranny and disorders under which they had suffered. The struggle was tremendous, and the enmities roused in the monsters of rapacity and cruelty that had settled down upon the Papal possessions, can be easily imagined. Cæsar Borgia, the Pope's nearest relative, was selected as his General; and such was the vigour with which he fulfilled his charge that, after the death of Alexander, several cities were eager to remain under Cæsar Borgia's protection.

Ferdinand, who had intrigued with the Pontiff's rebellious vassal, felt the strong hand of the new ruler, and Florence, his ally, shared his enmity against the powerful Pope. Such was the success of the new policy, however, that Philippe de Commines said that, were it only for the difference between government by a strong hand, and government by factions, the territory of the Church would be the happiest home in the world.

And what was the life of the new Pope? The Bullarium, the Consistorial Acts, the Allocutions and Constitutions of the Pontiff are unimpeachable witnesses to his industry, watchfulness, enterprise, and sagacity. The Bullarium of Alexander VI., dealing with the gravest subjects, from the canonisation of S. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the constitution forbidding the re-baptism of the Ruthenians, reveals his care for one side of his office, whilst Burchard's Diary is witness to his punctilious fulfilment of another side. His official acts exhibit splendid energy. At one moment he is giving his approbation to religious orders; at another moment he is reconciling the schismatics of Georgia to the unity of the Church. He appeals for assistance to prevent a French invasion of Italy: he agitates for a new crusade of Christendom against the Mussulmans; he is called in as arbiter of the disputes between two Governments respecting the boundary of their newly discovered territories in America. In one direction we find him labouring for the conversion of a colony of Moors; in another he is addressing his bulls to Cologne, Mayence, Magdeburg, Treves, to prevent the perversion of his flock by means of bad books. Spain appeals to him, and Portugal. England asks that the bones of Henry VI. may be transferred to Westminster Abbey.

For all this we have unimpeachable testimony. Such was the Pope. What was the man? This is the man

who all the while, according to Florentine history, is indulging in orgies and foul, horrible deeds, that hardly find their equal except in the annals of the old Emperors of Rome! And yet a really careful writer, Audin, assures us that under this Pope rich and poor had equal justice done them in Rome, and that soldiers and citizens long clung to his memory, because of his royal qualities. We are told that he was sparing of sleep and sparing in his diet; at table he appeared and disappeared like a shadow. It was no pleasure to dine at the Vatican, so severe was the *régime*; he was a man severe to himself, but kind to others; his ear never closed to the cry of the needy, his heart never shrinking from chastising the evil-doer. All this we know, and a contemporary writer sums up: 'Happy, therefore, was Rome in possessing such a 'Pontiff—a man whom one could rarely find otherwise 'engaged than in reading books, or in Divine worship, or 'the work of Christ, considering nothing so bad as the 'loss of time.' And this at three score years and ten!

'Hist. de Leo X.'

A continuator of Platina, Lyons, 1512.

But Guicciardini has given another portrait of the Pope, and he has been followed by writer after writer.[1] Repetition often gives a fictitious value to an originally false statement, and it has been so here. Guicciardini, as we have said, came from Florence, and the suspicious part of the whole of the darker portrait of Alexander is that so much of it is given as mere hearsay, and almost all of it can be traced back to Florence and Naples. We have seen how grossly Guicciardini lied about Alexander's predecessor, asserting that his children, born in honourable wedlock before he was ordained, were his offspring after he was a priest. His account, too, of Alexander's death is an elaborate lie, differing altogether from Burchard's. It was this that provoked Voltaire's exclama-

[1] Even George Eliot, generally more careful, has acted the parrot here.

tion against Guicciardini's *animus*. Guicciardini, again, states that Alexander entered upon his pontificate by a simoniacal election. And in this he is followed by all Protestant historians. Even Professor Creighton, who writes so much more fairly than most, follows him in his statement about Ascanio Sforza. He says, 'Ascanio 'Sforza's zeal was increased by the promise of the office 'of Vice-Chancellor, and Borgia's palace; Orsini, Colonna, 'Savelli, Sanseverino, Riario, Pallavicini, even the nona-'genarian Gherardo of Venice, all received promises of 'benefices, or gifts of money.' Where is his authority for all this? The Ferrarese ambassador at Florence. And who was *his* authority? The Florentine envoy. Always Florence! And the specification of what each received is to be found, where? In a letter of the Florentine Valori. Yet, according to Valori, Alexander was unanimously elected; and nothing was heard about his supposed simoniacal election, until Charles VIII., to further his purpose of aggrandisement, like Otho and Henry IV. before him, pretended to have scruples about the Pope's election. When it no longer served that purpose, the subject was dropped. I may mention that Dr. Littledale seems to be unaware of the Church's teaching on this subject, viz., that the electing cardinals represent the Church, and the Church's acceptance of their action is sufficient to validate an election, otherwise irregular. But the proof of simony in this case is by no means clear. The most important personage among the cardinals at the commencement of Alexander's reign, was Ascanio Sforza. He is said to have secured the Pope's election by his personal influence, and, according to the Florentine writers, followed by Professor Creighton, to have been himself influenced by simoniacal promises. Now we must remember that it is the promise of a gift, not its mere acceptance, which constitutes simony. But

where is the proof of the promise? In the important case of Cardinal Sforza, the evidence utterly breaks down. 'His zeal was increased by the promise of the 'office of Vice-Chancellor, and Borgia's palace,' says Professor Creighton. Guicciardini tells us that he was bribed by Borgia's palace. But when we come to examine the statement, we find it rests on nothing. Cardinal Sforza did not have Borgia's palace. It was given to Battista Orsini. Some one must have had the office of Vice-Chancellor; who so fitted, from Alexander's point of view, as Ascanio Sforza? Where is the evidence of any simoniacal prearrangement? It is simply wanting. Professor Creighton considers that the testimony of Infessura is confirmed by Manfredi, and Valori. But Manfredi and Valori do not confirm the important part of Professor Creighton's statement. They say nothing about *the promise*. So far from saying that Ascanio Sforza's zeal '*was increased* by the *promise* of the office, &c.,' as the Professor asserts, Valori simply says that Ascanio Sforza secured the election of Alexander (which clears Alexander), and that beyond this 'Quello che habbi inducto Aschanio non posso anchora intendere' (Burchard's 'Diarium,' vol. ii. p. 610). As for Infessura's testimony, Professor Creighton himself elsewhere makes a great admission. 'Infessura who was an adherent of the Colonna family, and had the spirit of a republican, has blackened his (Alexander's) memory with accusations of the foulest crimes. These charges, made by a partisan with undisguised animosity, must be dismissed as unproved.' And yet, Professor Creighton, strangely enough, repeats one charge which, so far as I can ascertain, rests on the authority only of Infessura and Guicciardini, and seems to be mere spiteful gossip. It occurs in Burchard's Diary, but is confessedly an interpolation from Infessura. It runs thus: 'Even the nonagenarian

'History of the Papacy, vol. iii.

'History of the Papacy,' vol. iii. p. 115.

'Gherardo, of Venice' (says Professor Creighton), 'was 'amongst those who received promises of benefices or 'gifts of money.' But here are the facts.

In Burchard's Diary, or rather the interpolation from Infessura, this good man figures as a 'certain white monk 'of Venice' (cuidam fratri albo Veneto) 'lately received 'into the cardinalate,' to whom Alexander gave 5,000 golden ducats. This was Morfeo Gheraldo, a former general of the Camaldolese, patriarch of Venice, whose promotion to the cardinalate took place 28 years before—not very *recent*. If any reliance is to be placed on Infessura's statement, which is not confirmed by Valori, it is easily explained by the fact that the old man, being a monk, would need an income, or capital to supply an income, for the expenses of the cardinalate. But it is easy to be inventive, when we are on the track of calumny. It was necessary that Alexander should bestow on some one his own office of Vice-Chancellor, when elected Pope; it was necessary, or natural, that he should part with his palace, when he entered into possession of the Vatican; it was necessary that he should cease to be Abbot of Subiaco, and that some one should have the abbacy; it was necessary that some one should succeed him as Bishop of Porto. It was natural that he should give these and other things to those who were his friends. As for the cities of Nepi, and Città di Castello, if they were in need of governors, he at once appointed those whom he could trust. But the bestowal of gifts, in the hands of a Guicciardini and an Infessura, becomes a promise before election; and the desire to crush an enemy suggests to an adventurous lad, like Charles VIII., or to his political advisers, the charge of simony.

It fell to the ground. There was probably little more foundation for it than in the case of S. Gregory VII.,

against whom Henry IV. found it convenient to bring a similar charge.

But we cannot forget that even Savonarola hurled the charge against the Pope, after he had been inhibited from preaching. There is no more piteous spectacle in history than the change from Savonarola the earnest preacher, to Savonarola the fanatic and political agitator.[1] Savonarola shamefully treated Piero de Medici, and Piero was Alexander's friend. Savonarola could even erect a boy, like Charles VIII., into a sort of demigod brought on to the scene to carry out the Divine purposes. The man who had so rightly guarded the faithful against the teaching of fanaticism by inhibiting his appearance in the pulpit, became nothing but a vicious Pope, as Savonarola greedily listened to Florentine tales;[2] and when Savonarola and Valori came to their death in a tempest of popular fury, Florentine calumny was equal to attributing their death directly to Alexander VI.

I am not, however, concerned to defend Alexander against all accusations. It is no part of my argument that he was free from fault. That there is nothing really proved against him of a compromising character, from a moral point of view, during his pontificate, I am myself profoundly convinced. I am aware of the Bull concerning Giovanni Borgia,[3] and of a single passage in Burchard which seems to be confirmed by it. But we need some further evidence to clear up the confusion that exists on that matter. It is, however, as a Pope rather than as a

[1] Burchard's estimate of Savonarola is very unfavourable, so far as his attitude towards the Pope is concerned.

[2] For a careful estimate of Savonarola's character, see Jungmann, *Diss. Hist.* vol. v. p. xxxvi.

[3] Although, after perusing all the Bulls relating to the Borgia family, I cannot adopt Leonetti's too favourable contention, I think he does give fair evidence to show that this Giovanni was the son of Cæsar Borgia.

man that we have to consider him, and it seems clear that in that age the Apostolic See did not suffer that diminution in the eyes of men which is often supposed.[1] The head of Alexander's offence was, after all, his defence of the temporal possessions of the Holy See, and his use of Cæsar Borgia to defend them. The defence of the possessions of the Holy See was, however, a defence of the rights of property; it was a 'magnanimous' object according to Ranke, and, appearing as he did in an age when the atmosphere was steeped in falsehood and calumny, and daring to rescue the sheep committed to his charge from men who were 'fiends in human shape,' he has been credited with a mode of life for which, so far as his pontificate is concerned, there is no sufficient evidence beyond the assertions of his sworn foes—men who frequently not only do not vouch for the truth of their statements, but do not vouch even for their own belief in them. 'They say,' 'it is said,' are scattered over the pages of Guicciardini, and are a favourite formula with Burchard.

It cannot, then, be held with any show of truth that the language of the Homilies, such as that 'the whole 'of Christendom was steeped in damnable idolatry for '800 years' before the Reformation, is explained, much less justified, by the life of a Pope such as Alexander VI. It was not this that set Luther against the Papacy, and, after him, Henry VIII. Let the latter answer for Luther. 'Formerly,' says the king, 'Luther wrote against the 'Bohemians, that they sinned damnably who did not obey 'the Pope.' This was after Alexander's death, when the Papacy was in very different hands. Henry continues, 'But I ask this: He that saw these things so short a

[1] Hübner says well, 'Alexandre VI, de triste mémoire, passait 'lui-même parmi ses contemporains pour un grand pape.'—*Sixte V*, Introd. iv.

'while since, how is it that he becomes of opinion that 'then he saw nothing at all? What new eyes has he got? 'Is his sight more sharp after he has joined anger to his 'wonted pride, and has added hatred to both?'

And for himself the king answers the question with the greatest *naïveté*. When the Papal Nuncio expostulated with him in 1533, and he hinted that deeper studies might make him change his opinion back to acceptance of the Papacy, he added that that would depend on the conduct of the Pope, *i.e.* in the matter of granting the divorce.

Bridgett's 'Life of Fisher,' p. 309.

On the whole question S. Augustine's words should be treasured.

He says: 'Our Heavenly Master so carefully fore-'warned us as to give people an assurance in regard to 'bad prelates, lest on their account the chair of saving 'doctrine should be abandoned, in which even bad men 'are forced to utter what is good. For what they say is 'not their own; it is of God, Who has placed the doctrine 'of truth in the chair of unity.'

Ep. cv. ad. Donat.

In the very hour when Caiaphas was plotting murder, or rather Deicide, it pleased God not to deprive that High Priest of the power of prophesying. 'He spoke 'not of himself, but, being the High Priest of that year, 'he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation' (S. John xi. 51), on which S. Chrysostom remarks that 'Grace used only the mouth of Caiaphas, and did not 'touch his impure heart.'

But further (1) take the sixteenth century as a whole and you have a Pius III., who seemed to be specially raised up to remove scandals; Julius II., who, with his rough address and warrior heart, had at least, according to Macaulay, a 'great' mind; Leo X., who assisted Cardinal Ximenes in publishing his Polyglot Bible, excommunicated Luther, and anathematised thirty-five of his propositions

in globo ; Adrian VI., the reformer of abuses in court, 'frugal, virtuous, and industrious' in theological work ; Clement VII., who was at least respected, though not obeyed, by Henry VIII. ; Paul III., concerned wholly with the work of Church reform ; Julius III., in fierce struggle with the detestable errors of Luther ; and Marcellus II., who in twenty-one days exhibited a devotion and nobility sufficient to cause universal regret at his death. Let Lord Macaulay speak for the rest. 'They 'were,' he tells us, 'men whose spirit resembled that of 'Dunstan and of Becket. The Roman pontiffs exhibited in 'their own persons all the austerity of the early anchorites 'of Syria. Paul IV. brought to the Papal throne the same 'fervent zeal that had carried him into the Theatine 'convent. Pius V., under his gorgeous vestments, wore, 'day and night, the hair-shirt of a simple friar, walked 'barefoot in the streets at the head of processions, found, 'even in the midst of his most pressing avocations, time 'for private prayer, often regretted that the public duties 'of his station were unfavourable to growth in holiness, 'and edified his flock by innumerable instances of humility, 'charity, and forgiveness of injuries ; while at the same 'time he upheld the authority of his See, and the un- 'adulterated doctrines of his Church, with all the stub- 'bornness and vehemence [he might have said firmness 'and courage] of Hildebrand. Gregory XIII. exerted 'himself, not only to imitate, but to surpass Pius in the 'severe virtues of his sacred profession.'

Essays, Ranke's 'Hist. of the Popes.'

Nor must we forget Sixtus V. and all his work for public peace and morals, and for the publication of a pure edition of Holy Scripture. And then, after Urban VII.'s reign of a single fortnight, with his tranquil and edifying death, and Gregory XIV., of stainless life, and Innocent IX., with his reign of two months so full of promise—the century closed with Clement VIII.,

encouraging piety and knowledge in every part of the Church, publishing the most accurate edition of the Holy Scriptures, and surrounding himself with cardinals such as Baronius, Bellarmine, and Du Perron.

And secondly, if Alexander VI.'s life was such as to explain the abusive language of the Homilies, how is it that it had no such effect on S. Carlo Borromeo, or S. Philip Neri?

Even if Alexander VI. had really been all that he is painted by his foes, his appearance in the midst of a long line of saints and martyrs could not compromise the Divine original of the institution.

At the end of the fifteenth century lived a Saint of the Blood Royal of France, daughter and wife of a king, S. Jane of Valois. After a life of great sanctity, when repudiated by her lawful husband, and, indeed, harshly treated by Alexander, she founded the Order of the Annunciation. She met with the usual difficulties in the way of founding a new order, but at length obtained her cherished wish. She applied to the Vicar of Christ, with all the devotion to the Holy See which has been the unvarying characteristic of the Saints, and her Order was finally approved by Alexander VI. There was nothing in his life that could stagger her faith in the Divine institution of the Papacy. The fact is that the life of the Church went on in spite of the Court of Rome,[1] for men knew that our Lord had provided for such contingencies, as worldly rulers: 'What they teach, observe 'and do; but do not according to their works.'

When, then, to Barlow's evil life men oppose an instance such as that of Alexander VI., they miss the point of our objection. As I have said above, Alexander did

[1] The corruption and laxity of discipline, nevertheless, has been enormously exaggerated. See Jungmann, *Hist. Diss.* vol. v.

not start the Papacy. But Barlow did, according to our contention, start the Anglican Succession.

So that the argument stands thus :—

It is not wonderful that God, having ordained that the Pope should be elected by human means, should permit the occasional occurrence of an unworthy choice. It would be wonderful, when His own immediate action determined the selection, that it should fall on a bad man. It would have been amazing had Judas, instead of Peter, been appointed to preside over the planting of the Faith, or for Judas to have survived so as to take part in that work at all as an Apostle. What we feel as an objection to the Anglican system is this—that whenever a great work of reformation has been required in the Catholic Church, God has raised up Saints to preside over it; but this alleged Anglican Reformation was presided over by a class of men whom Dr. Littledale, in his better days, called irredeemable villains. But further, Barlow's wickedness was distinctly of the kind that might lead him to lend a helping hand in vitiating the Apostolic Succession. It is not disputed that he was a bad man. It is on record that his badness, whilst considerable in other respects, took the form of contempt for the Apostolic Succession. It is on record that the evidence of consecration is wanting in this particular case of a bad man, who held the whole proceeding in contempt. It is on record, finally, that such a man was the best they could obtain to preside over the function by which the succession is supposed to have been passed on to the present Anglican episcopate.

CHAPTER VII.

HENRY VIII., THE ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICIAN.

NEXT to the idea that the Council of Chalcedon laid down the principle that Rome had a primacy of honour, not of rule — derived from its secular position, not from its relationship to the Apostle Peter—accidental, and not essential to the form of the Church's unity—there is no delusion that has been insisted on more strongly of late years than the clerical origin of the so-called Reformation. The Church in England, it is contended, severed herself from Rome, and reformed herself. She remained the same as of old in all essential doctrine, only she taught the Faith without the incubus of the disciplinary arrangement which bound her to the Patriarch of the West. Some few years ago it was the fashion among the highest Churchmen to deplore this severance, and to denounce its method of action. It was held, with Dr. Littledale, in his masterly sketch of the Reformation, that 'it is not as though in a great crisis 'some few mistakes were made by human weakness, which 'we should condone in consideration of the great work 'effected, but motives, actions, language, were, all alike, 'rotten and bad.'[1]

It was, however, clear that such language could only lead men of decisive character to transfer their allegiance, and every effort has been made of late to rest the cause

[1] See Littledale's *Lecture on Innovations.*

on a different line of argument. The line adopted by the author of the 'Roman Question' is altogether different. In his chapter on 'The Separation of England from Rome,' he attributes this separation, or at least far the largest share, to 'the like causes which centuries before alienated the 'Eastern patriarchates' from the Holy See (p. 20). He had previously attributed the Eastern rebellion to encroachment on the part of Rome, instead of, as is the real history of the matter, to the ambitious projects of Constantinople.

He is anxious, therefore, to show that the clergy of England desired a change, not of doctrine, but of rule.

There is here a slight confusion of thought. For he begins by eliminating from the range of 'doctrine' the question of the relationship of the English Episcopate to the See of S. Peter. And so he is able to say (p. 14), 'There was scarcely any change of doctrine in the reign 'of Henry VIII.'

And yet Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More thought it right to suffer death rather than admit what they considered the *new doctrine* concerning the King's supremacy! Sir Thomas More tells us that he spent years in the examination of this question, and came to the conclusion that the doctrine to which he was required to subscribe was a departure from the teaching of the Catholic Church. Bishop Fisher was acknowledged all over the Continent to be the most learned and the holiest bishop in England. And no sooner did Bishop Fisher see (what he did not perceive at first) that the king was changing the doctrine which lay at the root of Church government, than he refused to subscribe, and won his martyr's crown.

Sir Thomas More said: 'Though I would not deny' (*i.e.* refuse) 'to swear to the succession, yet unto that oath 'that was there offered me, I could not swear, without 'the jeoparding of my soul to eternal damnation.'

Archbishop Cranmer, indeed, wanted an oath to be

administered to Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, which would not contravene their religious conviction as to the authority of the See of Rome, and the exact nature of this oath might be suppressed, so that the public would hear only that they had signed, and would not know what they had signed. The evidence for this duplicity is to be found in Bridgett's 'Life of Blessed John Fisher,' p. 277.

All this is clear proof that the most saintly bishop of the day, and the most saintly layman known to English history, agreed in considering that Henry's proposal was not only a change, but a vital change, in the doctrine of the Church.

Archbishop Laud says, in a formal letter to the Duke of Buckingham, signed by himself, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop of Oxford, that 'when the clergy submitted 'themselves in the time of Henry VIII., the submis-'sion was so made that if any difference, *doctrinal or other*, 'fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be 'judges of it in a National Synod or Convocation : the 'King first giving leave, under his Broad Seal, to handle 'the points in difference.' ('Laud's Works,' vol. vi.) This was a radical change in the doctrine which concerned the mode of guarding the Faith. It was substituting a relation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which was the cause of most of the troubles in the Eastern Church of the 4th and 5th centuries. It left the helm of the ship, not in S. Peter's, but in the king's hands. It led to a loss of all belief in sacramental truth. The king, as Protector of the Church, separate from the See of S. Peter, meant, as the event proved, liberty to teach error, without the countervailing check of intercommunion with the rest of the Catholic world.

When the king had the question put to Cranmer 'whether in the New Testament be required any

'consecration of a bishop or priest, or only appoint-'ing to the office be sufficient?' and Cranmer replied, 'In the New Testament he that is appointed to be a 'bishop or a priest needeth no consecration by the Scrip-'ture, for election or appointment thereto is sufficient,' we may well believe that Cranmer did not really hold so monstrous a doctrine as of faith; but that he was cloaking his real sentiments and conforming his judgments to what he knew, or expected, to be that of the king. But that was precisely the situation. A doctrine had entered into the Church of England which was destined to shape its future: eventually the whole Elizabethan settlement hung on it: and the Church of England is what she is by reason of that doctrine. That doctrine was succinctly expressed by Bishop Van Mildert in the House of Lords on an important occasion when, after quoting the judgment of one of the greatest of Anglican divines (Bishop Horsley), he said, 'Now it is manifest, my lords, 'this latter power (jurisdiction), though spiritual in its pur-'pose and effects, cannot be exercised by any other autho-'rity than that of the State. The true line of distinction I 'apprehend to be this—spiritual functions belong exclu-'sively to the Church; spiritual jurisdiction belongs to the 'State as allied to the Church, and although exercised 'by the Church is derived from the State.'[1] Now compare this with the oath taken by every English bishop previously to 1534.

'I will be faithful and obedient to Blessed Peter and 'the holy Apostolic Roman Church. . . . I will take care 'to defend, preserve, increase, and promote the rights, 'honours, privileges, and authority of the Roman Church, 'our lord the Pope, and his successors.'

The words 'obedient to blessed Peter,' express a fundamental doctrine—whether true or false.

[1] Hansard, 2nd Series, vol. xiii. col. 696.

But there is another fact which seems of itself conclusive. In 1521, Henry VIII. wrote in favour of Papal Supremacy as the received doctrine of the Church of England, as having been the received doctrine of the Church from the beginning, and of the Church of England as part of the Catholic Church. In 1533 Henry told the Papal Nuncio that he had 'studied better,' and changed his mind.[1]

Two of the most competent critics on this subject that England has produced tell us exactly the same. Mr. Brewer, an Anglican clergyman, says: 'Opposition 'to Papal authority was familiar to men; but a spiritual 'supremacy, an ecclesiastical headship, as it separated 'Henry VIII. from his predecessors by an immeasurable 'interval, so it was without precedent and at variance with 'all tradition . . . the wisest could hardly catch a glimpse 'at its profound significance.' (Introduction, vol. i. p. 107.) Mr. Gairdner writes that the period from January to July, 1535, 'is a very marked period in the history of the reign '—the very crisis of royal supremacy, and of a totally 'new order in the Church.' (Preface to vol. viii. p. 1.) Here are two witnesses, neither of them members of the Catholic Church. They speak simply as historians, with knowledge such as few would claim concerning the reign of Henry VIII.; and they call his new relationship to the Church, 'A headship . . . without precedent, and at 'variance with all tradition'—'a totally new order in the 'Church.'

It is certain that throughout the history of the English Church, the authority of the Bishop of Rome had been acknowledged as of Divine institution. It is easy to quote instances in which kings sought to change the boundary line between the temporal and the spiritual

[1] See letter of Chapuys, *Spanish Calendars*, iv. 1057, quoted in Bridgett's *Life of Bishop Fisher*.

jurisdiction, between their own authority and that of the Pope: it is impossible to produce a single instance in which the authority of the latter was formally denied. To be restive under authority is not to deny the existence of the authority; to say 'You are master only thus 'far: here my dominion begins,' is to admit that there is a twofold jurisdiction. This principle was so engrained in the English constitution that it was difficult at once to eradicate its expression from the statute-books of England. Archbishop Bancroft and his suffragans noted this in their demand for a change in the wording of the ancient form of Prohibition. Before the Reformation, the temporal jurisdiction defended itself from encroachments on the part of the spiritual authority by writs of Prohibition, restraining the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction within its proper limits, as it conceived those limits. To these writs temporal penalties were attached. The spiritual power, emanating from the See of S. Peter acted by excommunication in case of encroachments on the part of the temporal authority. But the spiritual authority, the spiritual jurisdiction, had been assumed by the king. Accordingly Archbishop Bancroft and the bishops of his province, plead thus: 'Concerning the form of Prohi-'bitions, *forasmuch as both the ecclesiastical and temporal* '*jurisdictions be now united in his Majesty* (James I.), 'which were heretofore *de facto*, though not *de jure*' (here he denies the *right* of S. Peter's successor to their obedience) 'derived from several heads, we desire to be 'satisfied by the judges—whether as the case now standeth, 'the former manner of Prohibitions heretofore used im-'porting an ecclesiastical court to be *aliud a foro regio*, 'and the ecclesiastical law not to be *legem terræ*, and the 'proceedings in those courts to be *contra coronam et* '*dignitatem regiam*, may *now* without offence and deroga-'tion of the King's *ecclesiastical prerogative* be continued,

See Fr. Sydney Smith's 'Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism,' p. 34.

'as though either of the said jurisdictions remained now 'so distinguished and revered as they were before, or that 'the law ecclesiastical, which we put in execution, were 'not the King's and the realm's ecclesiastical laws, as well 'as the temporal laws.'

Here there is a clear expression of radical change. It was not a question merely of giving legal effect to the decisions of the Church, but something far beyond this. This always existed; but here a change is spoken of. And how radical the change was may be gathered from a letter of Edward III. to Benedict XII. (A.D. 1337), in which he is protesting against an appeal made *direct* to Rome over the head of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is the directness of the appeal, ignoring the Court of Canterbury as a court of first instance, against which the king protests. He says: 'The Apostolic See, although it 'has been *divinely established* in the plenitude of power, 'is not accustomed to take away the right and the juris- 'diction of inferior prelates called to a participation of its 'care, nor to reserve, *without legitimate reasons*, to the 'examination of the Apostolic See, causes which ought to 'be heard in the localities.' There are, then, such things as legitimate reasons for an appeal straight to Rome, whose power is of Divine institution. Between this and Henry VIII.'s doctrine there is no 'continuity.' And to come further down in time, where is the continuity between the doctrine of Henry VIII. and that of Henry VI.? Henry VI. protests against the Council of Basle assuming a superior position to the Pope. And on what grounds does he protest? On the ground that the Papacy, with its rights of jurisdiction, is of Divine institution. Addressing the bishops as 'Reverend Fathers' he says: 'But since between you and the undoubted Vicar of 'Christ, who is supported by the adherence of the cardinals 'of the Roman Church and no small portion of Christians,

'Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism,' p. 13.

Wilkins, i. p. 584.

'Alleged Antiquity,' p. 23.

'the question is not one of fact, *but of right divine and* '*ecclesiastical*, not so easily will this fever, this sickness 'penetrating, so to speak, *to the very marrow of the* '*Christian law*, receive its cure and removal from the 'judgment of the wise.'

Clearly Henry VIII.'s conduct would have been regarded by Henry VI. as 'penetrating to the very marrow of the Christian law,' contravening a 'right divine.'

Let us pass from kings to bishops. S. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, thus addresses the bishops who were under the king's influence: 'He says also to 'all the Apostles alike, "He that heareth you, heareth '"Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me; and he '"that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of Mine eye." As 'we know these words to have been addressed primarily 'to Blessed Peter, and in him to the other Apostles, so 'we hold them to have been said primarily to the Vicar 'of Blessed Peter, and through him to the other bishops, 'who hold the place of the Apostles: not to any emperor, 'or any king, or duke, or count . . . Wherefore let all 'likewise know, that in the things of God I will render 'obedience to the Vicar of Blessed Peter; in the things 'which of right belong to the earthly dignity of my Lord 'the King I will give faithful counsel and assistance 'according to my power.' Where is the 'continuity' of doctrine between S. Anselm's teaching and that of Archbishop Cranmer?[1] bid. p. 20.

But perhaps the most pertinent instance of all is to be found in the conduct and words of the famous Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste. He refused to induct a nominee of the reigning Pontiff, on the ground that he

[1] See also *Lib.* iv. Ep. xiii. 'It is certain that he who does 'not obey the ordinances of the Roman Pontiff . . . is disobedient 'to the Apostle Peter . . . nor is he of that flock which was given 'to him (Peter) by God.'

was totally unfit. But in doing this he is careful to distinguish his act from that of one who denies the authority which in a particular instance he forthwith resists. He says that to 'the Most Holy Apostolic See all power has 'been entrusted for edification, not destruction, by the 'Holy of Holies, our Lord Jesus Christ.' He is therefore dealing with a Divine institution. And in another letter he says that 'to the Holy Roman Church is due, from 'every son of the Church, the most devoted obedience, 'the most reverential veneration, the most fervent love, the 'most submissive fear.' There is no continuity between this teaching and the doctrine of Henry VIII., and the Convocation of 1534. Henry VI. says that, 'from the 'very cradle of the Christian religion, his authority (*i.e.* 'the Pope's) has been regarded as most manifest, and 'the plenitude of his power reverenced with all possible 'veneration.' Henry VIII. took the Papal jurisdiction into his own hands, on the ground that jurisdiction belonged to the king. (There was not the most distant notion that jurisdiction and orders went together. This confused conception of authority was an after-invention.) A new prerogative was added to the Crown, and the right to annex it was based upon a new doctrine.

'Alleged Antiquity,' p. 22.

There was, then, a fundamental change of doctrine concerning the government of the Church; and the government of the Church involves the guardianship of the Faith. It would be easy to point out that a great deal of informal change of doctrine in other respects was taking place in Henry's reign; so that Ridley soon after learnt to say, 'The Primitive Church did never use 'any altar;' and Latimer, 'Minister is a more fit name 'than priest, for that the name of priest importeth sacrifice;' and Ridley, not so many years after, could actually give an Episcopal injunction that all altars should be destroyed. But the change concerning jurisdiction is sufficient. As

was said at the time, it involved a new reading of 'Feed 'my sheep,' as though our Lord committed His sheep to the king and not to S. Peter. In consequence of this interpretation of Holy Scripture, Cranmer and his fellows took out a commission from Henry VIII. to discharge their Episcopal functions; and they held (and showed by their first act on Edward VI.'s accession how firmly they held it) that their jurisdiction was such that 'the king might recall it, and strike their character dead 'when he pleased.' Collier, vol. v. pt. 2, bk. iv.

If this was not change of doctrine it is hard to say what would constitute change. It was, as I have said, the change in the doctrine, affecting the very idea of the unity and authority of the Church, that led to all the depreciation of the Sacraments in the following reign. The Church could not be one if there were such things as National Churches with a king in the position that Henry and Elizabeth assumed. Intercourse between Churches must then be carried on between kings and queens, not between patriarchs, as of old; and each 'Sovereign Majesty' would have the fatal power of 'tuning the pulpits,' as Elizabeth boasted of doing. The authority of the Church was, in fact, gone. All sense of authority soon died out, except the authority of the reigning sovereign; so that Elizabeth could inform the Spanish ambassador as to the religion *she* meant to have in England. She told him it would not be *precisely* the Confession of Augsburg;[1] it would be something like it and yet different; and in 1573 Bishop Pilkington wrote to inform his friend Gualter, on the Continent: 'We 'endure many things against our inclination, and groan 'under them, which, if we wished ever so much, no

[1] De Feria to Philip II. April 29, 1559. She said also, 'she 'believed almost as Catholics believed.'—Froude's *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 82.

'entreaty could remove. We are under authority, and 'cannot make any innovation without the sanction of the 'Queen, or abrogate anything without the authority of 'the Laws.' He himself would probably have wished the religion of England to be that of the Confession of Augsburg, pure and simple; but Elizabeth was determined, as the author of the 'Roman Question' puts it, to 'establish a High Church line for the Church of 'England' (p. 19), something like the Confession of Augsburg, but still 'different from it.' Her bishops had some of them spent a while on the Continent, and desiring to communicate with the foreign Protestants found that they must sign that Confession, 'which, accordingly, they 'did.' Now all this high-handed action of Elizabeth (such that Archbishop Parker referred to her Majesty and Lord Burghley 'whether her Majesty and you will have 'any archbishop or bishops, or how you will have them 'ordered') was the result of that vital change in one doctrine in Henry VIII.'s reign; and in consequence of this the whole edifice of sacramental doctrine began to totter; its corner-stone was being removed; it was breaking off from the rock, to toss about on the sea. How was it that this new doctrine, which henceforward formed a distinctive mark of the Church of England, was introduced?

cf. Corr. of Parker, cccxlviii. Archbishop Parker to Lord Burghley, p. 454; Parker Society edit. 1853.

What was the propelling cause of this tremendous change? The Catholic contention is that Henry VIII., to forward his own vile purposes of greed and lust, forced it on the clergy and people. Hence the position as eventually accepted was Erastian, and the religious body lost its communion with the Catholic world. She developed a brood of heresies and sects, in the midst of which she floated down the stream, striking her sides against the craft around her, and stricken and propelled by them, without the standard of the Catholic Faith, or the pilot of the Catholic world.

Neither East nor West any longer saluted her as belonging to their common Lord. She was a craft on her own line, ignored by the schismatic East, and condemned by the entire West.

The High Anglican contention is, on the other hand, that she remained the same religious body, having simply cleaned her face. Her exterior was changed, but her inner self remained the same. The change of government that took place was, they say, a return to the more ancient *régime* of the Church. She now became primitive, instead of mediæval. Her ecclesiastical jurisdiction flowed from the metropolitical authority of the see of Canterbury, originally bestowed upon it by the Patriarch of the West. It was, they say, so bestowed that he could not alienate his gift. He could not do as S. Cyprian entreated the Pope S. Stephen to do, viz. depose the Bishop of Arles, and substitute another, and notify to him (S. Cyprian) with whom he should hold communion. This change of jurisdiction (we are told) was due to a desire on the part of the clergy to be free from the bondage of Rome ; and they accordingly solemnly and formally gave their sanction to the new adjustment. There was nothing in these relations to the See of Rome which rested on Divine appointment ; and what bishops gave, bishops could take away. Bishops it is said, originally 'gave' to Rome her pre-eminence, and bishops therefore, could deprive her of it. Consequently, when those bishops who, for the purposes of consecration, had sworn a solemn oath to obey the Bishop of Rome as the divinely-appointed successor of S. Peter in the supreme government of the Church, transferred their allegiance to Henry VIII., they acted within their rights. What need to consult the rest of the Catholic Church? They could act on their own responsibility as a separate body, and make themselves into a National Church, independent of the rest

of the Catholic world—autonomous, primitive in their more simple sacraments, as they soon became, and Catholic in their willingness to be in communion with the rest of the Christian Episcopate only on their own terms. This assertion of their independence was due, we are told, to a growing sense of the unprofitableness of their connection with Rome. They had long been feeling their way, and when the opportunity occurred, and Henry, from different and less praiseworthy motives, was looking also towards independence of the Holy See, they moved along the same lines with different aims, and broke, with good conscience, the solemn oath of obedience to the See of S. Peter, which they had taken in the hour of their consecration. They were, therefore, not perjured rebels, nor wilful schismatics. They initiated a wholesome change, which directed the wealth of the English sees and religious houses from foreign purposes to the more immediate needs of the Church at home.

Such is the High Church Anglican contention.

But of course it is felt to be vital to the whole contention that some proof should be forthcoming, which will place it beyond doubt that the clergy of the Church of England did, of themselves, and not merely as reluctant tools, sever their connection with the Apostolic See.

A definite proof has accordingly been of late widely adopted. It appears in Canon Dixon's 'History of the 'Church of England,' which the author of the 'Roman 'Question' calls the 'latest and the most thorough ac- 'count of those eventful times,' *i.e.* of the Reformation period (p. 15). It is relied on by Mr. Gore, in his book called 'Roman Catholic Claims,' 1st edition, and it is the *point d'appui* of my critic, the author of the 'Roman 'Question.'

He holds that the cause of the rupture between England and Rome was not 'Henry's cruel and shameful

'dealings in the matter of the divorce, nor the greed that 'devoured Church property.' It was the mercenary dealings of the Roman Court that brought it about—in short, the question of annates and other monetary transactions. His chapter on 'the separation of England 'from Rome' is really built upon this supposition. The aversion to paying annates was, he says, 'the immediate 'propelling cause of the Reformation' (p. 17). The clergy wished them no longer to be paid to Rome. On this account they 'indeed had themselves suggested a 'withdrawal from its dominions' (p. 71). 'It was,' he says elsewhere, 'the immediate cause of the Reformation 'in England' (p. 83). And it is in the same chapter that he says, somewhat sarcastically, 'I suppose our modern 'converts to Rome . . . do not trouble themselves with 'facts' (p. 88).

Here, then, we are at the very core of the subject. What is the fact which settles the question? Catholics say Henry VIII. dragooned the clergy into acting as they did. Anglicans maintain that the clergy acted from a previously formed desire to move in the same direction. Where are the facts to prove the Anglican contention?

Canon Dixon, Mr. Gore, and the author of the 'Roman Question' have rested this part of their case on a certain petition from Convocation. If the petition could be proved to be such, it would certainly be an important piece of evidence.

But Convocation *never did* present such a petition. Why did not these writers consult the journal of Convocation? There is no record there of any such petition. There is no statement on the document itself that it had any connection whatsoever with Convocation. Such a petition contravenes all the evidence we have of the mind of Convocation on this subject, and there is no

fragment, not an iota, of evidence to the effect that the said paper was ever written by any member of Convocation. What are we to think about 'troubling themselves 'with facts'?

Nay more, it is almost inconceivable that Convocation should have presented such a document. Look at the internal evidence. Convocation must have known something about the history of the great schism. Could they, then, have quoted, as this paper does, the case of the French king (who, of course, was Charles VI.) withdrawing his allegiance from Benedict XIII. (who, of course, was the Antipope, Peter de Luna), in order to transfer it to the true Pope, as a 'like case'? The blunder could hardly have come from the lips of Convocation. Indeed, the statement, as it continues, is quite inaccurate.

On what foundation, then, are we here resting? It has to be proved that the clergy of the realm were desirous to check the flow of money to the Roman coffers, and that for that reason they were willing—nay, desirous, indeed spontaneously anxious—to forswear their allegiance to the Apostolic See. But into whose hands was the money to go? Into Henry's. The annates were to be paid to him. Is it likely they were so anxious for this?

But there is a fact of really greater importance still, which has been strangely overlooked by Mr. Gladstone, Canon Dixon, Mr. Gore, and the author of the 'Roman Question.'[1]

It is this: the bishops opposed the Bill! Now what are we to think of all this so-called history? Of course,

[1] Mr. Green is more careful in his statement, though he, too, falls into the error of supposing that the said document was a petition from Convocation. He says, 'Convocation *was made*, &c.,' and so differs from the above writers. *Hist.* p. 329.

what my critic, the author of the 'Roman Question,' says is perfectly untrue, in the sense in which he interprets it, about what one of high consideration in the Roman Communion is reported to have said, *à propos* of the Vatican Council, viz. 'Thank God, we have done with 'history!' He meant, of course, by history, the perversion of history that goes by that sacred name. He meant such history as I have dealt with above.

This 'petition of Convocation'—this blundering, anonymous paper which has been conjured into being a petition of Convocation—is of such importance to the argument that our attention is drawn to it again and again. We are told 'it is impossible not to read between 'the lines of this remonstrance important facts as to the 'state of Church feeling at the time.' 'Important facts!' and 'this remonstrance!' which was never presented, and, we may feel sure, was never written by any member of Convocation; which was, if anything, *an intended petition from Parliament*, and which dealt with a Bill *which was opposed by the bishops!*

'Roman Question,' p. 17.

And in the face of this, we are told that 'modern 'converts to Rome do not trouble themselves about facts!' The author then quotes a passage from Canon Creighton, which is contradicted by Mr. Brewer, who, it will be admitted, at least had the facts before his eyes in his long study of State records; and he repeats the absurd idea of the Pope having offered to sanction the English Prayer-book of 1559—a notion dear to many, but without facts to support it, as Canon Estcourt has shown in his book on Anglican Orders. Does anyone seriously suppose that any Pope that ever lived would have sanctioned that Prayer-book *after he had read it through?* Lord Coke, the earliest authority for the statement, disavowed every sentence of his charge, in which the allusion to this supposed offer of the Pope occurs. The author, in his concluding

'Biogr. Britann.' Coke.

paragraph, says, 'I simply desire to state the fact.' I thoroughly believe it. And in consequence can I doubt that he will withdraw this chapter of his book? For the premiss having disappeared from the region of fact, on what does the conclusion rest?

What, then, if we really consult facts, was the secret of this revolution in the teaching of the Church? It was this. Henry stood in a position of unparalleled power. A man of tremendous will and unbridled passions, he cast his eye on forbidden fruit, and through the disobedience of one, many were ruined. The nobles lay at his feet, their power broken by the wars of the Roses: the single power that could bid him defiance lay in those holy homes of prayer, as we now know them to have been, in those centres of beneficent energy, into which the people's confidence threw their treasures, as safest there, or as a passport to a better world. These centres of power Henry proceeded, by vile, systematic calumny and almost incredible cruelty, to root up from English soil. The bishops and clergy were ruined by a single stroke of almost unparalleled audacity, and lay at the king's mercy. He had subjected them all to the penalties of a præmunire, and insisted on their buying off their lives by an enormous grant of money, and by owning him, in place of the Pope, as the only head of the Church under Christ. There are deeds which may be done in the face of day, if only they are done with sufficient speed to take men off their guard. Henry struggled with Convocation, until Convocation lay, maimed and crippled, speechless at his feet. It resigned its right to meet and act into his royal hands, and in so doing it sealed its doom. The greatest of bishops went to the block; the rest did that which they had to repent of doing. Mr. Gore says 'it matters not whether 'they repented' ('Remarks,' p. 7). Surely it matters thus far—their repentance, of which we are informed afterwards,

cf. Gasquet's 'Henry VIII. and the Monasteries.'

may have saved the souls of some ; and it saves their acts from being considered their spontaneous and mature conviction.[1]

But why this hot haste on the part of Henry? One simple fact reveals the terrible secret of his importunity. It sprang from his relations to Anne Boleyn. This was the forbidden fruit which he had already tasted. Within a certain number of months Elizabeth would be born. And the Holy See had shown its hand : it would never consent to the divorce of his queen. It was, therefore, necessary for Henry's purposes that all ecclesiastical matters should be settled within the realm. Cranmer, a man who, under the old *régime*, would never have sat on the throne of Canterbury—the most abject, servile tool that ever twisted and turned to the winds of royal caprice—was now metropolitan. With no time to lose—with no fear of another Fisher—the Tudor will prevailed. The land was plunged into schism, but Elizabeth's legitimacy was within measurable distance of being secured.

For all this there is proof.[2] In 1529, the king's orator at Rome, *à propos* of the divorce question, and the decision of the Pope to withdraw the cause to his own cognisance, threatened his Holiness that to do so would involve 'the ruin of the Church and the loss of England 'and France.' The French ambassador writes : 'The 'Duke of Norfolk is made head of the Council ; in his

[1] 'Of the learned men that were the doers thereof' (*i.e.* the Act of Submission in 1534) 'so many as were dead, before they died 'were penitent, and cried God mercy for their act ; and those that 'do live, as all your Lordships do know, hath openly revoked the 'same, acknowledging their error.'—Bishop of Chester's speech before Parliament on the Supremacy Bill (Feb. 1559). Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 408. Amongst the protesters on this occasion was Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff, March 18, 1559.—D'Ewes' *Journal*, 1693, pp. 23–25.

[2] See Bridgett's *Life of Fisher*.

'absence, the Duke of Suffolk ; above all is Mademoiselle 'Anne.'

Ludovico Falieri, the Venetian ambassador, and Sigismund the Mantuan ambassador at Augsburg, wrote to their respective masters about the arbitrary proceedings of the king with his bishops.

His placing the whole body of the clergy under the penalties of præmunire for having acknowledged the legatine authority is matter of common history. What he had in his mind seems plain enough, as from what I have just quoted, so from what Chapuys writes to his Imperial master : 'If the Pope had ordered the lady to 'be separated from the king, the king would never have 'pretended to claim sovereignty over the Church : for, as 'far as I can understand, she and her father have been 'the principal cause of it . . . There is none that do not 'blame this usurpation, except those who have promoted 'it.'

The archives of Vienna contain a protest from the representatives of nearly every diocese in England against the new form of sovereignty over the Church, including one from the Dean of Arches in the province of Canterbury.

Later on Chapuys writes to the Emperor : 'Among 'other things contained in the libel exhibited in Parliament 'against the Pope's authority, it is expressed that no one 'shall appeal from here to Rome on any matter, temporal 'or spiritual, on pain of confiscation of body and goods as 'a rebel—which clause directly applies to the queen.'

In the same life of Bishop Fisher, from which I have selected the above, occurs what the author calls 'a glimpse at popular feeling.' A gentleman's servant, whilst grooming his master's horse at Cambridge, falls to quarrelling with the ostler about the Pope, and ends by breaking the ostler's head with a faggot-stick in

his over-zeal for the successor of S. Peter. This fiery disputant tells us that he had explained to the ostler that this business about severance from the Bishop of Rome 'had never been if the king had not married 'Anne Boleyn.' And since the ostler's head was too thick to take in the plain truth, he broke it.

Such, then, was the propelling cause of the so-called Reformation. As for any spontaneous desire on the part of the clergy to break with the Spiritual Supremacy of the Holy See, there is no evidence of it to be found.[1]

No ; probably there never was such a conspiracy of circumstances, if I may so call it, as that which enabled Henry VIII. to substitute his own for the Papal Supremacy. The silence between Rome and England through the vast legatine power wielded by Wolsey, dispensing with the frequent calls for appeal ; the broken power of the nobility, through the wars of the Roses ; the impotence of Parliament, not yet developed so as to formulate the people's wishes ; the appearance of a man like Thomas Cromwell, destined to break the last force that could resist the will of Henry, by the shameless dissolution of the monasteries ; the sudden outburst of unregulated, unbalanced learning ; the intellectual power and adamantine will of the king—all concurred to favour the inauguration of a despotism such as no man wielded before in England, and no man will wield again. Satan held high rule ; and he revolutionised the religion of the land. Two things seem quite certain in the history of the change : first, that it was the doing, not of the clergy, but of the king ; secondly, that it was not the desire of the masses, who groaned beneath the reign of terror which had set in. Parliament was but an instrument of registering Henry's will : Convocation was overawed, and

See F. Gasquet's 'Henry VIII. and the Monasteries.'

See Brewer s 'Introduction to Henry VIII.'s reign.'

[1] This has been abundantly proved in the 'Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism. A reply to Lord Selborne,' by Sydney F. Smith.

soon reduced to a nonentity, and a crew of politicians came on to the scene, who hanged, in Edward's reign, in the name of the boy-king, those who maintained the Catholic Faith; and in Mary's reign the selfsame persons hung, in the name of their devout, sickening, gradually dying queen, those who maintained the Protestant heresy.

Things were thus ready for Elizabeth to settle the future of the Church of England, and on May 21, 1559, Parkhurst (afterwards Elizabethan Bishop of Norwich) writes from London to Bullinger: 'The Queen is not 'willing to be called Head of the Church, altho' the title 'has been offered her; but she willingly accepts the title 'of Governor, which amounts to the same thing. The 'Pope is again driven from England, to the great regret of 'the bishops . . . The Mass is abolished.'[1]

[1] 'At present she calls herself governor—declining the higher 'title, that she may give it to her husband when she marries.'—De Quadra to the Duke of Alva, May 10, 1559.

CHAPTER VIII.

ELIZABETH AND HER CLERGY.

Let us see how the Mass was abolished. It was easily extruded from the formularies of the English Church, in her Prayer-book and Articles, and from the teaching of the living Church, by the appointment of bishops, who were true enough to the new Creed, who insisted on every altar in their dioceses being destroyed, and the sacrificial vestments, and various vessels and implements of Divine service, being sold or broken up. The clearance of nearly every holy instrument of the Divine Sacrifice, throughout the land, within a few years, was wonderful.

But how was the old religion so completely, or almost completely, abolished from the land?

By violence and fraud.

The author of the 'Roman Question' protests against those priests and other Catholics, who were put to death in Elizabeth's reign, being called 'martyrs for the faith.' Speaking of the penal statutes against Catholics, he says: 'They who suffered under those statutes were no doubt 'brave devotees, but they suffered for political offences 'which could not but involve punishment, not in the least 'for their "faith," except so far as their faith animated them 'to subvert the constitution of their country, in order to 'establish an authority which the country had rejected. 'What one marvels at is the absolute disregard of historic 'truth, and the misrepresentation of facts, that is so singu-

'larly manifest in so sacred a transaction,' *i.e.* of their beatification (p. 113).

As one who thoroughly adopts the position, which this writer characterises as 'absolute disregard of historic 'truth,' and is prepared to defend it from State papers and other public documents of Elizabeth's reign, I would ask this simple question:—Let us suppose the case of Christian converts in Cochin China. The Christian religion is made to be treason against the State; it is forbidden by penal statutes. French priests, nevertheless, give themselves up to the Cochin Mission, in order to provide these Christians with Sacraments. They are caught, and put to death on being convicted of treason. Will the author of the 'Roman Question' deny them the name of Martyr? The Catholic Church does not, seeing that they ministered the Bread of Life to Christian people, even when to do so was treason against the 'powers that 'be.' Indeed I do not know where S. Peter and S. John can be ranked, if the name of Martyr be denied to the Catholics in Elizabeth's reign, who held on to their faith in spite of the unchristian statutes that were hurled against them, and to the brave priests who ministered to them.

As for the absolute disregard of historic truth, the great author of the 'Constitutional History' must share the blame. For Hallam says: 'Treason, by the law of 'England and according to the common use of language, 'is the crime of rebellion or conspiracy against the Govern- 'ment. If a statute is made by which the celebration of 'certain religious rites is subjected to the same penalties 'as rebellion, or conspiracy, would any man free from pre- 'judice, and not designing to impose upon the uninformed, 'speak of persons convicted on such a statute as guilty of 'treason, without expressing in what sense he uses the 'words? . . . A man is punished for religion when he 'incurs a penalty for its profession or exercise, to which he

'was not liable on any other account. This is applicable to 'the great majority of capital convictions on this score under 'Elizabeth. The persons convicted could not be traitors 'in any fair sense of the word, because they were not 'chargeable with anything properly denominated treason.' 'Constitutional History ch. iii.

Look at some of the cases. Will any fair-minded man maintain that Lord Arundel was guilty of treason? A letter was produced against him, but it was a forgery. He was then accused of two things: of having tried to leave the kingdom without license, and of having corresponded with Father Allen. He pleaded necessity for the first, because the laws of the country did not permit him to worship God according to his conscience; and as for the second, his correspondence was on matters of religion only. He had to pay thirty thousand pounds. See Burke's 'Historical Portraits,' vol. iv.

Will any fair-minded man maintain that Edward Campion, the Oxford convert, one of the beatified, had any other end in view than a strictly religious one? We know how he and his associates protested their innocence, and prayed for the queen with their last breath. When Elizabeth offered him an annual stipend, and lucrative church livings, if he would renounce the Catholic religion, he replied: 'No, Madam, not for all the honours that royalty 'can offer me. I am a soldier of the Cross, and glory in 'going to the scaffold for the principles of my Divine 'Master.'

During those fourteen years after the Spanish Armada, the persecution was renewed. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two ladies, suffered capital punishment for the 'spiritual treason' which had been lately created. Liberty was generally offered to the accused, provided they abandoned their religion, and took the oath 'declaring the queen the vicegerent of Christ.' 'During 'all the latter years of Elizabeth's reign,' says Hallam, 'the 'rack seldom stood idle.' ibid. vol. iv. ch. 37.

But it was in the early part of her reign that Elizabeth mostly permitted and even encouraged the violence and cruelty with which the new religion was forced on the land. It is to her everlasting discredit that she allowed the regular use of torture to be revived. Her sister Mary had set it aside, but Elizabeth renewed it. The rack—that form of examination which is a disgrace to humanity, against which the Holy See invariably protested in Spain—came into frequent use. The accounts of its application are so horrible that I spare my readers, who may not have examined this Satanic instrument. The tortures inflicted on Margaret Clitheroe and Nicolas Roscaroe (a boy of sixteen), are almost beyond belief—would that they were quite! And (alas, for the degradation of humanity!) the queen even ordered the bishops to use torture to the Papists, in order to find out where or when they attended Mass. What are we to think of the heroism of the priests who, nevertheless, said Mass, and distributed the Bread of Life?

In all this, John Whitgift, sometime Bishop of Worcester, and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury, was Elizabeth's foremost adviser. This true Protestant even once requested Lord Burleigh to rack a certain priest 'till he gave the names of those who went to confession 'to him.' Burleigh would not comply with *that*. On another occasion this prelate publicly declared that he would rather 'live in a dungeon all the days of his life, 'or even die in a prison, than *permit any person to practise 'a religion contrary to that upheld by the queen and him-'self*;' and this sentiment was enforced, not only against Catholics, but *against Puritans*.

The penalty for saying Mass was a fine of 200 marks and imprisonment; and priests were even hung on the evidence of one witness, who swore that he saw them saying Mass, although he admitted that he could not

clearly distinguish between Mass and any other Catholic ceremony.

Of this I am convinced, that once the English people come to know the guilelessness of Mary's character on the one hand, the comparative regularity of the trials under her when she was well enough to attend to business, the undeserving characters of those who suffered, and then, on the other side, the guile and cruelty and personal interest in the revival of the rack (which had been then laid aside), together with the shockingly unchristian end of Elizabeth, and above all the comparatively guileless character of so many who suffered in her reign—once, I say, let the English people know the truth about these things, they will change the epithet, which ignorance and prejudice have applied to Mary, and transfer it to Elizabeth.

Such, then, was the result of the change of doctrine initiated by Henry VIII. and revived by Elizabeth. Let us look the truth in the face, and we shall feel that Lord Macaulay was not far from wrong when he spoke of the Reformation as begun by a murderer of his wife, continued by a murderer of his brother, and completed by a murderer of her guest—Henry, Somerset, and Elizabeth. Compare the restoration of the Catholic Faith in the Chablais by S. Francis of Sales, with Bible and Breviary in hand, and his sweet ways and mortified life, with the destruction of the same in England. Compare it with these Satanic devices of rack and 'Skevington's irons' and iron gloves, whilst the persecuting Archbishop lived like a prince, and the bishops married; and reflect that these were contemporary events; or compare the reforms of S. Carlo Borromeo, his nights upon nights of prayer, his extraordinary mortification, his devotion to his people, his love and devotion to the Saints, his heroic endurance of persecution, and reflect that this, too, was a contem-

porary life! I think of him and then turn to contemplate the author of the English Catechism in its present form—Dean Nowell—preaching at S. Paul's Cathedral on 'The propriety of killing the caged wolves with the least 'possible delay,' *i.e.* the Catholic bishops then in prison, and ask where was the 'gentle dove'? Which was the work of God?

For some centuries Protestants have had history in their own hands, and State records and other public documents have been practically closed. Daylight has now dawned, and we are beginning to see how English history has been a long conspiracy against facts. We are beginning—but it is difficult to induce people to look the shame of the so-called Reformation in the face. Dr. Littledale once wrote a very able lecture on 'Innovations,' in which he says 'Documents hidden from the public 'eye for centuries in the archives of London, Venice, and 'Simancas, are now rapidly being printed, and every fresh 'find establishes more clearly the utter scoundrelism of 'the Reformers.' This lecture cannot now be had; whilst 'Plain Reasons, &c.,' a book containing almost as many misstatements as pages, is distributed in great numbers by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, under the patronage of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, who in the person of their predecessors were up in arms against the lecture. It is to their great disgrace that they have thrown their ægis over such an extraordinary farrago of misstatements, and on one point, as Father Jones has pointed out, of dishonest criticism.[1]

Such is the conspiracy carried on against historical facts.

But for this, it would be impossible for High Anglicans to maintain that, even on their own theory of Church

[1] *Dishonest Criticism*, by James Jones, S.J.—Hodges.

government, any ecclesiastical jurisdiction passed into the hands of Elizabeth's clergy. They proclaim, and never tire of proclaiming, that the system under which they live is in conformity with that of the Primitive Church. They have erected 'Primitivity,' as they call it, into a very note of the Church. Their theory involves the assertion, 1st, that the three patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch did not owe their origin, as S. Gregory says they did, to their relationship to S. Peter, but that they were due to Conciliar provisions; and, 2ndly, that the Council of Nicæa did not recognise the patriarchal system as an established feature of Church government.

Metropolitical authority is the highest known to the Church of England, unless we include the Royal supremacy. The patriarch has faded into the distance; and the metropolitan is theoretically independent, except it be of the sovereign. And yet if anything is clear in history, surely it is this—that metropolitans were subject to patriarchs. Now England was never erected into a patriarchate. It was part of the Western patriarchate of the Bishop of Rome. The whole system of the Church of England would have to be altered, if that were so. The Bishop of Lincoln would have to consider himself to be in presence of his Patriarch, not of his Metropolitan. This, however, no one supposes, and yet the Council of Nicæa and, still more obviously, the Council of Chalcedon make the obedience of a metropolitan to a patriarch part and parcel of the 'form' of unity in the Church. This 'form' of unity was repudiated by Elizabeth. She put things back to the state in which they were in the time of her father and brother. So is it expressly stated. And so she ordered a fresh metropolitan to be consecrated.

See Hefele on the Council of Nicæa.

But first, on what ground was Canterbury retained as a metropolitical see at all? It had been originally created

such by Papal authority. So far as that authority was concerned, the See of Canterbury ceased to be known to the Church. It was with Canterbury just as it was with all post-Reformation sees according to Bossuet. When asked whether he should address a certain Anglican bishop as bishop of such and such a see, he replied that as a Catholic he knew no such see. So Canterbury was no longer a see known to the Church. It was not recognised as such by its patriarch, to say nothing of Papal recognition.

But Henry recreated it—a measure which was expressly forbidden to the Emperor at the Council of Chalcedon (4th Session, October 17, 451, and Canon XII.), as contrary to the law of the Church. Here are the terms in which Canterbury was established a metropolitical see.

Henry begins: 'We, inspired by the divine clemency 'and having nothing more at heart than that the true 'religion and the true worship of God should be there 'restored . . . have determined that on the site of the 'said monastery, to the glory and honour of the Holy 'and Undivided Trinity, a Cathedral and Metropolitical 'Church, consisting of one priest-dean, and twelve pre-'bendaries, also priests, to serve Almighty God entirely 'and for ever, shall be created, chosen, founded, and 'established; and by the tenour of these presents we '*really and fully create, erect, found, establish* the said 'Cathedral and Metropolitical Church . . . and by these 'presents we adorn the same Cathedral and Metropolitical 'Church of Christ with the honours and *insignia* of an 'Archiepiscopal See, and a Cathedral and Metropoli-'tical Church.' Elizabeth put things back to the state in which they were in her father and brother's time, and the statute by which her supremacy was enforced conferred upon her all 'such jurisdictions, privileges, and 'superiorities and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesias-

'tical, *as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or 'authority hath heretofore been*, or may lawfully be, ex 'ercised or used for the visitation, &c.,' and we know from history that this *ex*cluded the ministration of sacraments, or the power of order, and *in*cluded all that belonged to the Patriarch of the West, and Primate of the Church, under the term jurisdiction. This is the power by which the present Archbishop of Canterbury is trying Dr. King for his conduct of Divine service.

cf. Sydney Smith's 'Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism,' p. 55.

Next, even if the See of Canterbury had remained on its old footing, instead of being a new creation—even, if (to suppose what seems to us an absurdity) it possessed metropolitical rights inalienably, so that the power that conferred them (viz. the Papal) could not take them away, still we would ask a further question.

By what bishops holding sees in the province of Canterbury was Archbishop Parker elected? There were none who would consent to be at liberty on the terms proposed. And a suffragan only acts by permission of the diocesan bishop, and so far as his permission extends. If he acts in defiance of the diocesan, his acts are null and void. Suffragans, then, are out of the question. The canons of the Council of Nicæa do not cover the case of a suffragan acting contrary to his diocesan's permission. He would be in a state of ecclesiastical rebellion.

Where, then, were the diocesan bishops of the province of Canterbury (who alone could impart jurisdiction, even on the Anglican theory) when Archbishop Parker was consecrated by Barlow? They had refused to act—in other words, they protested against the act. The act of consecrating Archbishop Parker required as its preliminary that those who took part in it should sign the oath of supremacy. They would not sign. An act, therefore, requiring such a signature was in their judgment

an act of rebellion against the Church of God, and they preferred to go to prison or death rather than take such an oath. They knew what their ancestors had done in a moment of sinful compliance under pressure from Henry VIII., and they valued their souls too much to repeat the sin.

The consequence was that there were no bishops in the province, in the sense that the Council of Nicæa used the term, to assist in Archbishop Parker's consecration. Mr. Gore's defence of Anglican jurisdiction consists of two parts, one of which he calls the 'technical 'defence.' The other, by whatever name it should be called, seems to be summed up in his assertion that 'jurisdiction itself is regarded (from the only point of 'view which can be called Catholic) as inherent in the see. 'It is entered upon when any bishop is enthroned in his 'see in a canonical manner' (p. 155).

This is precisely what Archbishop Parker never was. He was never 'enthroned in a canonical manner.' Mr. Gore says further on, that 'when Parker was consecrated 'it was by bishops as canonically "provincial" as was 'possible under the circumstances.' The fact is that it was not possible under the circumstances for it to be done by any 'canonically provincial' bishops. For the circumstances were such as to preclude a Catholic bishop from acting. Elizabeth had made it morally impossible.

'Scory and Hodgkins,' Mr. Gore says, 'were bishops 'within the province.' True, but they were not diocesan bishops. They were not bishops 'of the province' in the sense that the canons of the Church use the term. They had no jurisdiction.

But there was Coverdale. Of him Mr. Gore says: 'Coverdale, formerly Bishop of Exeter, had been quite 'uncanonically deposed on Mary's accession' (p. 159).

The conclusion suggested, therefore, is that he was a bishop of the province.

Let us see what is the truth.[1]

Voysey was appointed Bishop of Exeter by Henry VIII., and he remained in his see until the king's death. He was then ninety years of age. On Edward's accession he refused to help in spreading the tenets of the so-called Reformation. Consequently Coverdale was appointed, against the diocesan's wish, under letters patent, to aid in spreading in the diocese principles that the diocesan considered uncatholic. Voysey resigned, with the express statement that it was 'pro metu corporis,' which, of course, rendered Coverdale's occupation of his place irregular. On Mary's accession Coverdale deserted Exeter and fled beyond the seas. Voysey, being no longer 'in metu 'corporis,' returned to his see. About two years later he died, and Turberville was canonically appointed as bishop. On Elizabeth's accession he was deprived, for refusing to take the oath of succession. How could the see be said to be canonically vacant, or what are we to think of Mr. Gore's summary, viz., 'Coverdale, formerly Bishop 'of Exeter, had been uncanonically deposed on Mary's 'accession'? Is there a word of truth in the sentence?

Mr. Gore has forgotten a fact which Dr. Littledale brought out in his lecture on Innovations, and which completely disposes of some of his contentions. 'Cranmer,' says Dr. Littledale, 'took out a new patent from the 'Protector, *to hold office at the sovereign's pleasure* (an 'unheard-of innovation on all spiritual claims), urging 'his suffragans to do the same. Thus he had no legal 'ground of complaint when Queen Mary deprived him.'

[1] The most popular manual in use amongst the English clergy of Mr. Gore's school of thought is the *Priest's Prayer-book*, where Coverdale's case is as unhistorically explained as it is here by Mr. Gore.

So with Coverdale; he had no legal or canonical position, when Queen Mary, acting under commission from the Pope, deprived him. If the Bishop of Rome could depose the Bishop of Arles in S. Cyprian's time, as the Saint considered he ought, he could surely depose this intruded Bishop of Exeter, and clearly the legal question, *pace* Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Gore, is settled by the position assumed by Cranmer of holding his see at the good pleasure of the sovereign.

Coverdale has received from Protestant historians the title of 'venerable.' But he was found equal to the sacrilegious act of helping to ensconce Parker in the temporalities of Canterbury when the whole province was in open protest against the act. It is a mystery how a man of grave character could assist a person of Barlow's *métier* in such a tremendous act. But he had already innovated on the immemorial custom of the episcopate to remain without the pleasures and distractions of married life. Barlow describes Coverdale's wife as 'young, pretty, and frisky.' And a man who could enter the diocese of a good old man like Voysey and subvert his teaching, supported by letters patent, and end with driving the aged bishop out of his see—a man who could then accept the position of returning to it after another bishop had been canonically appointed and consecrated to it, and still held to it—such a man whether venerable or not in other ways, could have had no respect for canonical forms. He would have, of course, no scruple about placing a Protestant teacher on the throne of Canterbury in obedience to Elizabeth's commands, irrespective of the consent of the rightful owners of the sees of that unhappy province.

Whatever, then, Mr. Gore may mean by 'canonically 'provincial,' it is certain that no bishops of the province of Canterbury, in the sense in which the Church has

always understood that term, consented to Archbishop Parker's enthronisation at Canterbury. And by withholding their consent they deprived him of all jurisdiction, save what Elizabeth, as 'governor' of the Church, could bestow, and that was, from a spiritual point of view, none.

By way of plain evidence, there is a remark of Lord Burleigh's, the Secretary of State, which proves that there were no provincials to give their helping hand to Archbishop Parker's consecration—that is to say, such as there were had been driven from their sees. In a paper in the State Paper Office, the steps to be taken for the confirmation of Archbishop Parker are given in detail. One of these is that the order of King Edward's book is to be observed. Opposite them Lord Burleigh wrote: 'This book is not established by Parliament.' Another step to be taken was that letters patent were to 'be 'directed to any other archbishop within the king's 'dominions. If all be vacant, to *four* bishops, to be ap-'pointed by the queen's letters patent.'

Opposite this Lord Burleigh wrote: 'There is no 'archbishop nor four bishops now to be had.' They had all refused the necessary oath. The one supposed exception is Kitchen, of Llandaff. He did not act, and it is not proved that he even signed. The last we hear of him is that he hesitated. A little before his death he says: 'The Queenes Ma^tie of her bountiful grace tenderinge 'the quyet of my conscience hath differred the renderinge 'of thothe [the oath] of her supremacie to my further 'consideration within myself in the spending of. Goddes 'learnynge, &c.' He says that, although he cannot make up his mind to sign it himself, he will obediently administer it to others, which shows the metal of which he was made. The rest preferred prison or exile. They did not vacate their sees.

One of those who went into exile sat in the Council

of Trent. There is a curious letter of Elizabeth's extant concerning him. It was Goldwell, Bishop of S. Asaph. *He never resigned his see.* He tells Lord Burghley so in a letter. To the end of his days he signed himself 'Thomas Asaphen.' He told the authorities at Rome that he was driven out into exile, being unable to say Mass or to preach, through Elizabeth's high-handed action. He spoke in the Council of Trent in favour of the queen being excommunicated. The queen had done her utmost to induce him to sign the oath of supremacy. But he bore the character of a high-minded, devoted man, of austere life and great prayerfulness. The queen did her best to bribe him into signing, but he was impervious to her persuasive offers. He escaped being put into custody, and appeared at the Council of Trent. No one, then, placed over his diocese could by any stretch of language be called the canonical bishop of S. Asaph, except himself, so long as he lived. He died in 1585, in one of the homes of the Theatine order, to which he belonged, in his eighty-fifth year. Baronius speaks of him as 'a man conspicuous for holiness of life, the 'confession of the faith, and learning, who lately died at 'Rome, to the sorrow of all good persons.'

The queen, when she heard of his being at the Council of Trent, seems to have been greatly angered. She wrote to her envoy in Germany (March 21, 1562) saying: 'As to the first matter we think it may be that 'one Goldwell, a very simple and fond man, having in 'our late sister's time been named to a small bishopric in 'Wales, called S. Asaph, though never thereto admitted, 'flying out of the realm upon our sister's death, is gone 'to Rome as a renegade, and there using the name of a 'bishop without order or title, is perhaps gone in the train 'of some cardinal to Trent, and so it is likely the speech 'hath arisen of a bishop of England being there.'

The queen here, of course, tells a falsehood. Would that it stood alone in the record of her life!

Such, then, was the dilemma in which Elizabeth found herself. A metropolitan was needed, and a metropolitan was made. But besides what I have already pointed out, there was another symptom of the confusion into which everything had been thrown. The confirming bishops were unconfirmed themselves for eleven days after Parker's confirmation. They consecrated Parker Dec. 17, and Barlow and Scory were afterwards confirmed in their respective bishoprics by Parker, whom they had confirmed in his before. But they had no more right to consecrate an Archbishop of Canterbury than they had to consecrate one for Paris or Moscow. They had no jurisdiction themselves on any conceivable theory that can appeal to the canons of the Church, and that defect must still inhere in Parker's successors; time cannot cure it. Original sin is not done away with by our distance from Adam, but by baptism. 'Quod ab initio nullum est tractu 'temporis non convalescit.'

But the queen had no hesitation as to her course of action. She stepped forward in her royal majesty, and cured the defect. An enabling Act was passed, and the machinery was set in motion. She was her father's child —a Tudor from head to foot. Not long afterwards she stepped with the same royal ease into the patriarch's throne with even more sublime consciousness of her spiritual jurisdiction. She had been proclaimed 'governor' of the Church of England. She would not have been Elizabeth if she had not used the authority which Parliament had given her. Why does not Grindal, the successor of Parker in the see of Canterbury, exert himself against the Puritans with greater zeal? Elizabeth suspended him. In vain did twelve of his suffragans plead for him; in vain did Convocation urge his cause. They

had to consent to fulfil his functions. Just as afterwards Charles I., under Laud's guidance, suspended Archbishop Abbot, and nominated, authorized, and appointed five of his suffragans to act for him: 'to do, execute, and perform all and every those acts, matters, and things, anyway touching or concerning the power, jurisdiction, or authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in causes or matters ecclesiastical.' If this was not fulfilling the office of a patriarch, in what did that office consist? It is idle to refer, as Mr. Gore does, to Byzantine emperors or Frankish kings, for any parallel to this. This was a settlement, a supposed reformation, a new departure, which governed the course of events for three centuries to come. Between this and the *régime* in the Eastern Church under the Byzantine emperors, there was this vital difference. The patriarchate of Constantinople did not stand alone, as Archbishop Parker did, out of communion with the rest of the Catholic world. The tendency of the Eastern patriarchates to Erastianism was continually being checked and corrected by the action of the See of S. Peter. When no longer in communion with Rome, the patriarchate of Constantinople became a blighted, withered thing, smothered by its Erastianism. From having preserved a true priesthood, it never lost the sacerdotal idea, or its respect for the monastic life, as England, nor did it develop such a crop of heresies. But it lost its spring and power, and became as still as a frozen tarn. It was an ecclesiastical petrifaction. In England things were worse. The Sacrifice became a 'memory,' and the priesthood a 'ministry.' Decorum took the place of zeal, the wife superseded the 'discipline,' and the Saint disappeared. The good clergyman replaced the holy priest, and obedience to the law, devotion to the Pope. The daily Mass was succeeded by occasional administration of the Lord's Supper;

confession and absolution, by justification by faith, and listening to a sermon. Bishops paid their annates to the Sovereign instead of the Pope, and Royal Commissions superseded Provincial Synods. Perhaps no more complete proof of the entire acceptance, by the new Church of England, and the nation at large, of the Erastian position could be adduced than the history of Archbishop Abbot. He had killed a man, by accident, when hunting at Bramzill Park. The Lord-Keeper Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, announced the fact to the Duke of Buckingham, in the following manner: 'His Grace, 'upon this accident, is, by the common law of England, 'to forfeit all his estate unto his Majesty; and by the 'canon law, which is in force with us (he is) irregular '*ipso facto*, and so suspended from all ecclesiastical 'functions, until he be again restored by his superior; 'which, I take it, is the King's Majesty, in this rank and 'order of ecclesiastical jurisdictions.'

'The King,' says Bishop Hacket, 'saw that, whether 'the person of the Archbishop were tainted by this act, or 'not, yet his metropolitical function was unsettled in many 'men's opinions; he heard that the acts of spiritual courts 'were usurped, and came to no end, till sentence were 'pronounced one way or another by the supreme authority. 'Therefore a commission was directed from his Majesty 'to ten persons, to meet together for this purpose about 'the beginning of October.' The result of their deliberations was, that the King appointed a Commission of bishops, Andrewes being one of them, and by their means 'assoiled the Archbishop from all irregularity, scandal, 'or infamation, pronouncing him to be capable to use all 'metropolitical authority.' The royal decree runs: 'Of 'our special grace, and of our supreme royal and eccle-'siastical authority,' and it frees the Archbishop from all 'defect, censure, penalty, canonical and ecclesiastical,'

See Allies on 'The Royal Supremacy,' p. 56. (Pickering, 1850).

and it restores to him freedom to 'minister, enjoy, exercise' the entire office of his archiepiscopate. Collier (ix. 378) remarks: 'This is a wonderful relief from the 'Crown!' and supposes 'a patriarchal at least, if not a 'papal authority, in the King.' No wonder that in this century, the Bishop of Durham could say from his place in the House of Lords: 'Now it is manifest . . . this 'latter power (jurisdiction), though spiritual in its purpose 'and effect, cannot be exercised by any other authority 'than that of the State . . . spiritual functions belong 'exclusively to the Church; spiritual jurisdiction belongs 'to the State as allied to the Church, and although exercised by the Church, is derived from the State,' which is Erastianism pure and simple.

Such was the system which Elizabeth had the skill to introduce. It was her courageous determination that prevented the Church of England from being quite what the rest of the Protestant world soon became. She could say to a bishop, 'By God, I will unfrock you!' and she used her determination to keep the religion set up in her realm 'something like' the Confession of Augsburg, as she told the Spanish ambassador, and 'yet different from it.' It was the latter half that was the difficulty. Her bishops had, some of them, been abroad in Mary's reign, and since they found themselves most in accord with the Protestants there, as, for instance, at Frankfort, they communicated with them, but were unable to do so without signing the Confession of Augsburg, 'which,' we read, 'accordingly they did.' And so her bishops were to be 'something like' the Catholic bishops and 'yet different.' They were, above all things, to abolish the Mass, and yet they were to admit in her own chapel some grandeur in their functions. Elsewhere the altar vestments became 'bed-quilts,' or on occasion 'a stomacher for a wench,' and the altar stones were put to 'common uses.' The

Lee on 'The Church under Queen Elizabeth,' vol. i. p. 264.

people of England disliked the change. But Elizabeth was fully equal to the occasion. She could boast that she 'tuned the pulpits' of the clergy whom she suffered to occupy the places of the deprived prelates. Of these latter Bishop Jewel writes February 7, 1562: 'The 'Marian bishops are still confined in the Tower, and 'going on in their old way. . . . They are an obstinate 'and untamed set of men, but are nevertheless subdued 'by terror and the sword.' He had already written to the same Peter Martyr in August 1559: 'Many alterations in 'religion are effected in Parliament in spite of the 'oppo-'sition and gainsaying and disturbance of the bishops.' It was, indeed, a battle between the crozier and the Crown, and the victory was with the Crown. And so a few years later (1571) one of her creatures—Archbishop Grindal of York, afterwards Primate of all England—ordered all altars to be pulled down and altar stones to be defaced, and England had her rich language defiled by the fearful blasphemy contained in the common phrase 'hocus pocus.'[1]

'Zurich Letters,' 1st Series, No. 43.

And what was her last treatment of her clergy? 'Many,' says Miss Strickland, 'have been dazzled with 'the splendour of her life; but few, even of her most 'ardent admirers, would wish their last end to be like 'hers.' That end was marked by a silent melancholy. 'She never,' says Lady Southwell, 'lost her senses for 'one moment, but was prevented from speaking on account 'of a sore throat.' When the Archbishops of Canterbury

[1] A parody of the Latin words for 'This is My Body,' containing the idea that the Consecration in the Mass is a trick and a delusion. Archbishop Tillotson says: 'In all probability those common jangling words, of Hocus Pocus, are nothing but a corruption of Hoc est corpus, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome in their trick of Transubstantiation.'—*Discourse against Transubstantiation.*

and York visited her she became offended, and told them 'to be off; she was no atheist, but she knew full well that they were but hedge-priests.' She died, a 'melancholy, disconsolate, forlorn, and miserable old 'woman.'

See Burke's 'Historical Portraits,' vol. iv.

That she ever came to be called 'good Queen Bess' is due simply to the fact that Protestantism has long poisoned the wells of history, and Protestant historians have not 'troubled themselves with facts.' The author of the 'Roman Question' quotes with approval the statement of Professor Creighton that in Henry VIII.'s time 'very few Englishmen at the time wished to maintain the 'connection with Rome;' and again in reference to the relation with Rome re-established under Mary: 'After 'that brief experience Englishmen never wished to hear of 'it again.' Mr. Brewer, after the most careful study of the State documents of the period that perhaps any man has yet given to them, tells us the precise contrary. The people did not wish for the change, and did not like it when it came. Paget writes to Somerset that 'eleven-'twelfths of the kingdom were opposed to the new-fangled 'teaching' (Strype, ii. 110). So much for Professor Creighton's statement.

And in Elizabeth's reign it was difficult to induce educated men to enter the new ministry. Men called the new episcopate 'Parliament-bishops'; cobblers, tinkers, tailors had to be pressed into the service; the greed for marriage amongst the clergy could only be satisfied by their being content with persons of doubtful character, so adverse were respectable people to the new idea of a married ministry. You read in the records of the times the objections people had to attending the novel services, and those objections hinged precisely on the doubtful validity of the new order of clergy. In the York House Books, the records of the corporation, there

is a list of numbers of persons who were brought before the Lord Mayor in 1573, for instance, for not attending church. Their answers are most significant. One gives as a reason for not attending, 'It is not the Catholic 'Church;' another, 'There is no priest;' a third, 'There 'is not the Sacrament of the altar;' a fourth, 'There is 'neither priest nor Sacrament.' But the machinery in existence, worked by a Tudor will, was equal to enforcing conformity wherever the spirit of martyrdom was lacking, and martyrs in all ages are but 'few and far 'between.' Conformity was achieved for a brief space, but only to give way to an explosion of heresy such as the world has seldom seen. Sects soon crept into existence, and began to cover the land silently but surely, until the endeavour to return to the slightest similitude of Popery brought a successor of Matthew Parker to the block. As the Protestant Melanchthon writes of his own country, 'All the waters of the Elbe would not yield me tears sufficient to weep for the miseries caused by the Reformation' (lib. iv. ep. 100), so it might be said of England, 'Not all the waters of the Thames would yield 'tears enough to weep for the neglect of the poor, the 'corruptness of judges, the oppressiveness of landlords, 'frequency of murder, prevalence of adultery and con-'sequent divorce, which the Protestant annalist Strype 'sets down as sins resulting from the Reformation.'

At length an utter absence of all spiritual life came over the land, once the home of saints. The Church never quite died out; no Towneley ever apostatised; there were Howards and others still true to the old religion. There are villages in Lancashire that never knew the withering blight of the Reformation. But the ostracism never ceased, and we read now and again how in the last century men went to Mass and suffered for it. In 1765 a gentleman was summoned before the sitting alderman for attending

Mass contrary to law, and was obliged to enter into a recognisance for 400*l.* for his appearance at the ensuing sessions of the place ('Gentleman's Magazine,' 1765).

But at length the indifference and torpor were sufficient to enable the exiled priests from a neighbouring country in revolution to settle here, and, as in His exile from the Holy Land the Church's infant King blessed the country of His sojourn, so was it here. The Christian faith revived, and men saw their way back into the Church of their fathers. The home of learning by the banks of the Isis became the birthplace of a new progeny, born unto God in the Catholic Church. The saints one by one returned in their various Orders. They are here now at work and by toil, and prayers, and sacrifices, and the Holy Mass, are pleading with the Lord, Who was driven out: 'Come, Lord Jesus, and with Thy blessed Mother take 'possession once again of the country where Thy saints 'lived and died in the communion of Thine Apostle's See, 'whom Thou didst make the rock of the Church and the 'key-bearer of the kingdom of Heaven under Thyself, 'Who art the Rock of Ages, and Who hast the keys of 'death and hell, Who openest and no man shutteth!'

CHAPTER IX.

THE DECLINE OF DOGMA.

SOME years ago, it was usual amongst High Churchmen to admit that things were in evil case in the Church of England, as compared with things elsewhere, but that it was our duty to remain where God had placed us. Such an attitude, it was urged, fostered humility ; and the admission only amounted to our being in outward correspondence with our Lord in His Passion. It was thought right to admit that it would have been an inestimable blessing to have been born a Roman Catholic ; but as we were not, our duty lay in submission to the Divine decree.

Of late years this attitude has very much disappeared. It is now taught that it is a comparative blessing to have been born in the Anglican Branch, as it is called, and not in the Roman Communion. There are, it is urged, as many difficulties in the latter Communion as in any other religious body: consequently 'we are better off where we 'are.' A good instance of this is to be found in an article of the 'Church Quarterly Review' for January of this year. The article deals with my book on 'Authority,' and devotes a considerable portion to a passing assertion of mine that the Church of England shows a want of firmness even on the subject of hell.

Now before touching on this subject, I wish to say thus much : viz. that if any words of mine should lead to

more decision on this matter in the Church of England no one will rejoice over it more than myself. I should lose an argument, but I should help some souls. God knows what agonies I have endured through the indecision of the Church of England on this awful subject. It was my rule always to preach on it at stated intervals, and at every Mission, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. I have received in consequence plenty of remonstrances from laymen to the effect that I ought to know better than to rank this doctrine amongst the articles of faith. But the real difficulty comes from the teaching body in the Church of England. Besides what I have mentioned in my book, is it not notorious that, for instance, one of the churches in London which has fought the Ritualistic battle, is now occupied by a vicar, who both preaches Universalism, and writes in favour of it? The last Anglican bishop that I spoke to had been greatly shocked at the prayer, 'Sancta Maria, eripe me de tormentis æternis.' When I proceeded to explain that this related to the glorious intercession of our Lady, I found that his difficulty was quite as much with the words 'æternis tormentis,' as with her intercession. I found it a matter of notoriety that he had just been wounding the susceptibilities of some of his congregation, and delighting the 'liberality' of others, by his loose teaching on the subject of hell. Since I wrote my book, a scene has been enacted which speaks volumes as to the present state of things on this subject. At the great annual meeting of English churchpeople, the Manchester Congress, two clergymen were asked to address, or to write addresses for, one of the meetings, whose comparative heterodoxy on the subject must have been known. The address of one was read in the presence of at least one English bishop sitting on the platform. A more horrible *pronunciamiento* on the subject of eschatology

I have hardly ever read. The address was listened to with impatience, but the bishop by his presence in the chair secured a 'fair hearing' for this heretical teacher. This same clergyman, after sowing such seeds of doubt as he could by having his paper read in the presence of a bishop, retains his rectory and represents the Church of England to his Yorkshire people. Who can blame him? he is within his rights. He probably sincerely believes that he has just as much right to teach what he does, as the Low Churchman who used to teach all the horrors of Calvinistic predestination.

These are surely pronounced symptoms of a disease—of a disease at work at the very vitals of the system; for the health of a system which cannot repudiate this false teaching on a fundamental truth must have been seriously undermined. Then, am I not right in saying that the Church of England is not as keen and sensitive as she once was, on the subject of hell? I do not wish to make out a case. God forbid! If anyone can show me the contrary, I will gladly hear him, and rejoice from the bottom of my heart. My own conviction is, and it is a matter of deepest sorrow, that the Church of England is steadily losing her hold of the dogmatic principle altogether. The calmness with which heresy is endured may bring peace; but it will be the peace of torpor, and the prelude of death. That fierce indignation against the evil of heresy which betokens moral fibre; that holy anger which denotes that the finer sensibilities of our nature have not been dulled; where are they now? That dreadful boast of comprehensiveness, the dread of bondage to dogma and discipline, are notes of a decaying system, which cannot gather itself up to speak with the unity of its being, and express itself as one living person.

No Catholic can see the Church of England sink ever so little into dogmatic indifference, without a pang.

If there were no other reason, it would treble the work of the Catholic Church. The Establishment would never give to the Church another Newman, or Manning, or Wilberforce, or Lockhart, or Ward, or Faber, not to mention a host of others whose lives and deaths have edified the Church. But also, who that has friends within her bosom can bear the thought of their living and dying without that keen sense of the value of truth which belongs to any sort of spiritual perfection?

But I confess to a feeling akin to despair when I read such an article as that which appeared in the last 'Church Quarterly Review,' or remarks such as occur in Mr. Gore's book on 'Roman Catholic Claims.' Mr. Gore seems of the two far the most keenly alive to the evil: accordingly he busies himself with defending Archdeacon Farrar from the charge of heresy. The archdeacon wrote a book which destroyed all belief in hell in numbers of souls. The result of his book was to suggest that Christendom has been wrong on that subject for ages, and that he had been sent to put it right. The further conclusion drawn was, that if Christendom could go wrong on such a point, why not on others too? Archdeacon Farrar professes to agree with Dr. Pusey. Yet who does not know that Dr. Pusey's book would not have been written when it was but for Canon Farrar's work? Again, one of the passages from my book on 'Authority,' which Mr. Gore singles out for reprobation, is precisely that in which I state that my decision to face the agony of separation from all my friends, was due in the last resort to my feeling sure that, if I did not, I might suffer everlasting separation from the Author of all good. The writer of the articles on my book in 'Church Bells,' denies that I can have been influenced by so low a motive as the fear of hell. But think what hell means? Its essence is the eternal loss of God! and what love is

that, which can bear the thought of that loss without agony? The more we love the Fountain of all good, the more we shall be careful that we do not miss the vision and enjoyment of His Presence throughout eternity.

But still more startling is the mode of defence adopted by the 'Church Quarterly' reviewer. I looked with some eagerness to its reply; for the 'Church Quarterly Review' has for some years represented all that is best in the Church of England. Its short notice of my pamphlet was, indeed, most offensive in its tone; but in an 'article' one would expect to find some thought and more refined expressions. The latter I found. But what shall I say of the thoughtful care? *The reviewer's reply consists of a retort!* He does not deny the fact; but he asks me a question, *i.e.* whether I have 'really studied this 'question in connection with the history of the Com-'munion which I have joined?' He says, 'We greatly 'doubt it.'

Now before answering this question, I desire to make some preliminary remarks. And first, it ought to be a subject of the deepest regret to the writer of the review that there should be this imaginary wavering, not merely, as he admits, in the Establishment, but in the Catholic Church. He denies being a Universalist himself. Surely, then, he must feel that the Church is simply failing all round in a truth which lies at the root of all belief. What of our Lord's promises?

Secondly, his misrepresentation of my words on another subject is so inexcusable, that I feel bound to call attention to it.

I have said in my book on 'Authority' (p. 5), that 'to 'talk of a body without a head *in the same order of life* 'as the rest of the body, is to use words without 'meaning. An invisible body may have only an invisible 'head; but a visible body, to be a body at all, must have

'*also* a visible head. The fact of a headship is part of the 'contents of the term.' Notice the word 'also.'

Now it is almost incredible that anyone who pretends to deal honestly with an author's words should quote the first of these sentences, omit the second, and interpret the words 'order of life' not of the *visible order* of things as I *expressly explain* them, but of the purely *human* order. And so by thus deliberately altering my words from 'visible' to 'human,' he succeeds in the jugglery of representing me to his readers as asserting that our Lord is not, as Man, the Head of the Church. Why, of course, I imply, and *I have elsewhere said*, that He is as Man the *invisible* Head. The question is, whether our Lord has appointed a visible representative of Himself as Head. S. Augustine says that our Lord wished to 'make Peter one with Himself, that so He might commend 'the sheep to him, *that he might be the head*, and bear the 'figure of the body.' I have, therefore, simply said what S. Augustine said. There is one Priest, and one Head, but are there not visible representatives of the one Priest? But the point is, why does this writer deliberately cut out my explanatory sentence, and so make me write nonsense? By what right does he say what is so transparently false? He returns to this charge at the end of his article, when he speaks of my 'strange theories about 'the *à priori* necessity of a purely human head to the 'Church.' Strange, indeed, would such a nonsensical theory be; but stranger far is the perversity that changes my word 'visible' into 'human,' and ignores my express statement on p. 21, 'Christ alone is the Head of His 'Church.' Is it possible that one who applies himself to write on what he calls the Roman question, is so little acquainted with the argument, which is a commonplace of Catholic theology, amongst the *loci theologici* of every text-book in use in Catholic seminaries, as to mistake

my plain allusion to it and to call it a 'novel theory'? I assumed that my readers would be sufficiently conversant with this ordinary argument, to dispense me from the necessity of saying that it was not new.

The writer speaks of 'Father Gallwey going quite as 'far as Mr. Rivington,' as though he, too, were enunciating some novel theory, and as though he were denying the Headship of our Lord as Man over His Church. I need hardly say that Father Gallwey does no such thing. He believes in a visible representative of the Invisible Head. We call our Lord the Divine Head, not because He is not man ; but because He is the God-man.

Another point to which I will draw attention before passing on, is the first of the three points which my critic takes, and on which he thinks that he vanquishes me. He deals with what I have said in 'Authority,' p. 57, viz. 'Either the Popes claimed what was their right by the 'gift of Christ, or they were one and all impostors from 'the beginning.' This is in allusion to the claim made by the Popes, from the time of S. Siricius onwards, in their genuine decretals, to be successors of S. Peter and the appointed rulers of the Church. This they have claimed all these centuries, as a matter of faith. How does my critic meet this evidence? After a very rude remark, and an assertion of great superiority on his own part (p. 343, penult. para.), he instances the very different claim on the part of certain Popes to *a deposing power*. And he says further on, 'The deposing power was by the sixteenth 'century all but erected into an article of faith.' 'All but'; it is, therefore, no parallel case. I am speaking of what WAS *all along* claimed as a matter of faith. And between what is claimed as such, and what is not, there is a chasm. The whole point of my argument lies in the magnitude of the claim—the claim to be the successors of S. Peter and the rulers of the Church by saints and martyrs, on the

ground of a divine appointment. The critic has thus produced no parallel. Of course, people can claim things without being impostors, but the question is whether we can suppose *such* men—such saints and martyrs—to claim *such* a position, one after the other, without their claim being presumably true. And to this question the critic does not address himself.

His third point is a third misrepresentation. He makes me say that 'the mention of distinguished names 'is an argument which tells in one direction, *and in one* '*only*.' Let him quote any expression of mine which bears out the assertion contained in the words I have italicised. He cannot do it.

I now return to his retort about the teaching concerning future punishment.

We have seen what is, alas ! the state of things in the Establishment, but the reviewer thinks that I have proceeded on 'the supposition that on quitting the English 'Church for the Roman, a man escapes from all the special 'difficulties which affect the theology of our day.' I have certainly given no cause, that I can see, for such an accusation in the book in question. I have there shown reasons for believing that the See of S. Peter is the divinely appointed guardian of the Faith, the centre of unity, and the source of jurisdiction ; but that is a very different matter. The only ground for the reviewer's assertion seems to be that I have said that the Church of England wavers on the subject of hell. But, being in communion with the See of S. Peter, does not, in my opinion, secure an 'escape from all the special difficulties which affect 'the theology of our day.' It places one within the Ark of Salvation ; but even the existence of God has still its own difficulties, only they are difficulties which, to those who remain docile to the teaching of the one true Church never amount to a doubt. But he supposes that I shall

find similar difficulties in the way of loose teaching, and the absence of discipline, in communion with the See of S. Peter—that there is, in fact (for it amounts to that) no such thing as a Church upon earth, to which the command applies, 'Hear the Church;' and he speaks of my 'seeming ignorance of the licence allowed by 'Rome on questions of eschatology.' I don't know where he thinks I have lived all my life, or how he thinks I have used my opportunities of observation, which have certainly been more than falls to the lot of most people; and I cannot conceive where he gained his own travesty of the discipline of the Catholic Church. But I proceed to answer his public challenge, when he asks me this question—'Has he really studied this question' (*i.e.* the subject of hell) 'in connection with the history of the 'communion which he has joined?' He adds—though on what grounds I do not know—'we greatly doubt it.'

I answer then, without hesitation, that I have not only studied this question for years, especially since 1865, in connection with the Church of Rome (to use his own phrase), but I feel sure that I have studied it a great deal more than he can have done himself. This is no idle boast. Lacordaire's writings on this subject, of which my reviewer gives a second-hand account, I know well-nigh by heart. M. Nicolas, on whom he relies, with whose entire work I am intimately acquainted, and whose splendid chapter on hell I analysed eighteen years ago, my reviewer has misunderstood;[1] and he has thoroughly misrepresented the Abbé Le Noir, through (I suspect) a lack of acquaintance with the theological methods of Catholic writers. My answer, then, to the question thus publicly

[1] It has been a favourite book of mine, and was presented to me, by my own choice, by the present Bishop of Lincoln, as a parting gift, when I left for missionary work in India, but I knew it first in 1870.

put, is simply this, viz., I have studied with peculiar care the well-known Catholic writers on this subject, and not only what has been written in past times, but the more modern and, I think I may say, the latest expositions of this doctrine. And the result is that I feel justified in accusing the Church Quarterly Reviewer (1) of *ignoratio elenchi* in dealing with my argument, and (2) of a most serious misrepresentation of Catholic writers on the subject. For (1) I spoke in my book of recent tendencies in the Church of England on the subject of hell. The writer, in reply, deals only with Catholic-French writers of thirty years ago, and with the way in which they deal with some of the fringes of the subject. 'The French 'pulpit,' he says, 'exhibited a change, not indeed in 'essence, but in mode of treatment' (p. 34). If 'not in 'essence,' where is the relevancy of his remarks?

'Authority,' p. 14.

Again, I deal throughout my remarks with the attitude of the *teaching body* in the Church of England. Does any man pretend that *the teaching body* of the Catholic and Roman Church is not as decided as ever on this dogma? Even the late Mr. H. N. Oxenham, so often led away by his wide sympathies, deals with this subject in the most trenchant manner. Few things assisted the Church of England more than the articles and the book which Mr. Oxenham wrote on this subject. It appeared at a time when many in the Church of England were in utter dismay at the sudden outburst of unbelief on this central subject. The 'Church Times' had thrown its ægis over Mr. Juke's book on Universalism, which was much more than counteracting the effects of Dr. Pusey's famous sermon, and many young clergymen were beginning to wonder what was the 'Catholic' line to take. Mr. Oxenham's book, being that of a Roman Catholic, reassured them, and showed them that 'the Church of Rome' had no faltering voice on that awful topic, when her least in-

tolerant member was so decided. And does any man, I repeat, venture to say that 'the Church of Rome' is not to-day as 'obstinate,' in the holy sense of that word, as she has been since S. Jerome condemned the doctrine of Origen as involving the salvation even of Satan? Will the world believe you, if you assert it? Well, the 'Church 'Quarterly Review' has detected a sign of change, and the 'Spectator' has indulged in an outburst of admiration at this particular portion of the article. I am overmatched, it informs its readers, because my 'excellence is that of a 'preacher, not of a theologian.' I have met with a theologian, and hence *impar congressus*.

St. Jerome, in Jonæ, 3.

Jan. 26, 1889.

I do not know what the 'Spectator' means by a theologian; but surely a theologian must be a logician first. And where is the logic of my reviewer? He is dealing with my assertion that the Church of England is 'waver-'ing' on the subject of hell. He retorts that 'during the 'earlier half of the century' a French barrister wrote something about modern minds which bears upon the question at issue; and also a French abbé wrote an article in a theological dictionary which shows 'wavering on the 'subject of hell.' And he supposes that some articles by Father Clarke show that 'the discussions of the present 'century on this solemn theme have seriously modified 'the Roman theology in many quarters.' And that is his proof that the present tendency of the Catholic Roman Church is the same, or nearly the same, as that of the Church of England; at any rate, sufficiently the same to have supplied me with a cogent reason, if I had only known it, for pausing before I entered a fold where the shepherds are so remiss. He remarks upon my 'seem-'ing ignorance of the licence allowed by Rome on ques-'tions of eschatology.'

Let us, then, examine this French barrister and this French Abbé and Father Clarke, whose writings, we are

told, reveal a 'revolution' (p. 346, last line) in the teaching of the Catholic Church on the subject of hell.

Happily, in the two first cases, the reviewer quotes the damning words on pages 348–350.

M. Nicolas, he tells us, 'feels compelled to declare—' we shall expect something that it must have cost him a great deal to declare. It is this : 'Amongst the moderns 'this dogma has become the most insurmountable, I do not 'say to the reason of the unbeliever, but to the faith of the 'Christian ; and it is not uncommon to find souls who 'could believe all the rest of Christianity, and who are held 'in check in the presence of this one article of faith alone.'

Further on, it is said, still as a sign of the revolution 'which has affected questions which concern eschato-'logy,' that M. Nicolas did not refrain from stating in a note, 'le point le plus insaisissable du dogme de l'enfer, et 'qui est comme le centre de son obscurité, viz. : the difficulty of reconciling it with the foreknowledge and goodness of God, and of leaving it as a mystery by the side of that concerning our freedom and the Divine sovereignty'—(p. 349), as if S. Thomas had not done the same.

I ask, what in the world has this to do with the question before us ? How does this show that the teaching body of the Church is wavering ? The existence of evil is a still greater difficulty to many minds ; and the doctrine of everlasting punishment is one form of that insoluble difficulty. S. Augustine found the existence of evil an insurmountable difficulty to many minds. Did this prove that the Church was wavering on the subject ? Does the Church the less teach it, because it is so insurmountable to many minds ? M. Nicolas in the first passage is speaking of the effect that the Christian conception of love has had on men's minds, and the difficulty it has raised on this subject of punishment. But hell is not the less taught for that. 'He begins,' my critic says, 'in what

'may almost be called an apologetic tone.' In other words he begins gently. But what, I ask again, has this to do with the question before us?

We may dismiss, then, the first reference to M. Nicolas as an *ignoratio elenchi*.

And the same may be said of the way in which the writer introduces M. Nicolas's observation that the difficulty of reconciling the doctrine of everlasting punishment with the foreknowledge and the goodness of God is 'comme le centre de son obscurité.' M. Nicolas simply adduces this as a *difficulty* of the same nature as the difficulty of reconciling the co-existence of the infinite and finite—a difficulty, but no reason for doubt. Mr. Mansel might with as much reason be accused of not being quite as firm in his teaching on the existence of God because he speaks of the co-existence of the finite and the infinite as the riddle of philosophy since the birthday of human thought. M. Nicolas shows that it is not a difficulty sufficient to counterbalance the overwhelming reasons for believing in hell.

And yet in this the reviewer actually discerns a change of tone in Catholic teaching sufficient to justify his strange assertion about the 'licence allowed by Rome on the 'question of eschatology'—a licence which he compares with the state of things I have described in the Church of England. All that he has as yet adduced surely goes to show that Catholic teachers set to work at once to remove the difficulties that beset modern minds in the way of receiving the dogma of eternal punishment. What has this to do with laxity, or allowed licence, or faltering? What is it but a symptom of the desire to show that, in spite of difficulties raised, it is *true*?

The writer's reference to Father Clarke's articles in the 'Month' seems to me to be stranger still. He says: 'If 'we have understood aright the articles of Father Clarke,'

(*i.e.* in the 'Month' for 1882, January, February, March), 'and the conversation of two gifted and devoted members 'of the Roman Church, we should say that the discussions 'of the present century on this solemn theme had seriously 'modified the Roman theology in many quarters.' I make bold to say that the writer has in all probability seriously misunderstood the 'two gifted and devoted 'members,' judging from the way in which he has misunderstood Father Clarke's articles in the 'Month.' Those articles announce and support the most decided teaching to be found anywhere on the subject of everlasting punishment. And they teach absolutely nothing that is new. They betray a mind (if I may be permitted to say so) thoroughly stored with Catholic theology and Catholic philosophy, and a certain facility of expression which enables the author to translate the old faith into modern language without losing one line or shade of its traditional essence.

Here are the propositions which Father Clarke sets out to prove. I give them in his own words.

'1. It is because God is God, infinite in all His 'attributes, infinite in His love amongst the rest, that the 'punishment of sinners lasts for ever.'

Not much 'wavering,' or 'revolution,' or 'serious 'modification' here.

'2. Those who would limit the duration of hell 'degrade their God instead of exalting Him; nay, their 'arguments tend to abolish God altogether.

'3. The essential evil of hell does not proceed from 'the action of God, but from the will of man, so that 'it may be truly said that God is not the creator of 'hell.

'4. The abolition of hell would be a misfortune to 'man, inasmuch as it would involve him in evils greater 'than any to which he is now liable.

'5 In the condemnation of sinners to eternal misery 'there is no sort of injustice and cruelty.

'6. The objections to eternal punishment are not 'based on any rational or logical argument, but on a 'sentimental anthropomorphism.'

These are the propositions which Father Clarke maintains, and it is to three articles proving their truth that the reviewer refers us as an instance of the 'serious 'modification' which 'Roman theology' has undergone 'in many quarters' (p. 349).

Now, in reading through these articles, which betray no sign of wavering, no sort of 'modification' of 'Roman 'theology,' no faint semblance of 'revolution,' I noted down passages in which I remember to have read arguments similar to those used, and restated (without the least plagiarism) and admirably adapted by Father Clarke. There is not an argument, as it happens, which I could not parallel from older writers. The arguments of the first article appear in germ in Lancicius and Bossuet. Those of the second are to be found in the Ignatian exercises, especially in the exposition called the 'Medulla 'Asceseos,' in Lenfant's celebrated sermon, which is said to have staggered Diderot, in many old treatises on death, and in S. Thomas, and in Bossuet's sermons on habitual sin and the last day, and in S. Augustine ; that is to say, that each argument as I read them reminded me of passages from one or other of these which I had read years ago. In the last there is nothing that could, to the merest tyro in theology, read like 'revolution,' or 'wavering,' or 'modification.' Here, for instance, is one passage : 'And the most effective feature in the picture of hell is 'its *eternity—for ever, never, for ever, never.* Protract it 'as you like, let it last for millions and billions of ages, 'yet if once you let the sinner think or hope that that long 'suffering will be succeeded by an eternity of happiness

'(or even by an annihilation or absorption into the Deity),
'you have robbed hell of its chief terror, you have opened
'the door to the sinner seeking some excuse for his sin.'

Does this show any 'serious modification' of 'Roman 'theology'?

The one sentence which the reviewer quotes can actually be paralleled from Massillon himself in his sermon on 'Final Impenitence.'

The writer then proceeds with another question, which also has nothing to do with our subject. Our subject is hell, pure and simple. It is no part of the Church's teaching concerning hell that such and such a number of souls will be found there. Massillon had his 'opinion,' and Lacordaire had his; but they were only their opinions, as to a point that does not *touch* the essence of the doctrine. Père Gratry, amongst others, pointed this out in his little Catechism. Father Faber held Lacordaire's opinion on the number of the saved, and no one will accuse Father Faber of not having preached on hell in the most vivid and awful terms that our language can command (see his Conferences).

The note on page 349 is another conspicuous instance of the same logical fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*. Father Clarke says nothing that Père Lenfant and hosts of other writers have not said in substance 200 years ago. The teaching that 'all who have made their 'act of submission, and persevere in it,' will (after their purgatory) be classed with the Saints, is nothing new. It is merely a restatement of what has always been generally believed. And when the writer adds, 'But it needs some explanation, as M. Nicolas has shown, to reconcile it with the maxim "Extra ecclesiam nulla '"salus,"' I ask again, what has that to do with the question before us? Does not the doctrine of the Holy Trinity need 'some explanation' when we have to do

with so many Unitarians in these times? But is it the less taught because it is sought in every way to explain it, and to show its harmonies with the deliverances of our reason?

But let us come to the writer's 'pièce de résistance': and here we have a right to express our indignation. The passage contains a most serious misrepresentation.

Let us remember that the writer affects to show that I was ignorant of the state of things in the Church of Rome on this subject of hell, or I should have known that there, too, there has been of late years some wavering. Most people will smile at his simplicity, but I am obliged to take his assertion *au grand sérieux*. He refers then to an article by M. le Noir in the Abbé Migne's 'Encyclopédie Théologique,' written in 1856. Now would anyone have supposed that this writer (whom he adduces as his authority for the astounding statement, that there are signs of a state of things in the Catholic (Roman) Church similar to what I have described in the Anglican Establishment, on the subject of hell) actually holds the following *as a matter of faith*, viz.:

'Le Christ viendra, à la fin du siècle, juger les 'vivants et les morts; et tous paraîtront à son tribunal, 'avec leur propre corps, pour recevoir chacun selon leurs 'œuvres: les uns, pour leurs œuvres mauvaises, la peine 'perpétuelle; les autres, pour les œuvres bonnes, la gloire 'sempiternelle' (p. 782).

'Christ will come, at the end of the world, to judge 'the living and the dead; and all shall appear at His 'tribunal, with their own body, to receive each according 'to their works: some, for their evil deeds, perpetual 'punishment; the others, for their good works, everlasting 'glory.'

This, he tells us, is of faith; and this sentence, together with another equally strong, is, he also tells us,

constructed out of 'les expressions même des symboles 'et des Conciles.'

The only other mention he makes of 'formal defini-'tions' occurs in dealing with certain expressions concerning the immortality of the soul, which resemble Origen's teaching, and which he tells us, though condemned in substance, are not so in set terms—implicitly, but not explicitly. He does not mention the Fifth Œcumenical Council in this connection; this is foisted in by the reviewer. He nowhere argues (as the reviewer says he does) concerning the lost, that their 'infernal pains will 'not be eternal absolutely.' This is simply a piece of false accusation on the part of the reviewer, who (I have little doubt) was thinking of a passage in which M. Le Noir discusses a wholly different matter, viz. the curious question as to whether God *could*, exceptionally and by miracle, take a soul out of hell. Or else he alludes to the subject of the mitigation of the pains of the lost. On this latter point, M. Le Noir is careful to show that his own opinion in no way impinges on that which he gives as of faith—viz., the everlasting punishment of the finally impenitent. When he does mention the Fifth Œcumenical Council it is to say, 'Parmi les quinze canons contre 'la théorie d'Origène attribués au cinquième Concile 'général, mais qui ne se trouvent pas dans les Actes de ce 'Concile,' &c.

All this the reviewer twists into a shameless distortion of M. Le Noir's admirable and most orthodox disquisition. He says that M. Le Noir argues that 'even if the 'views of Origen underwent condemnation by the Fifth 'Œcumenical Council, such a condemnation would not 'imply the formal definition, as an article of faith, of eternal 'punishment, and that these infernal pains will not be 'eternal absolutely.' We ought to have had chapter and verse for such a statement. But it is a thorough perver-

sion of the article in question. The Abbé has begun by giving the definition of eternal punishment as gathered from the expressions of 'les symboles et les Conciles,' which we have given above. And he adopts as his own the following celebrated passage from Massillon's sermon 'Sur le Mauvais Riche.'

'L'âme coupable une fois séparée du corps, les 'fantômes qui l'abusaient s'évanouiront ; tout l'emportera, 'tout la précipitera dans le sein de Dieu ; et le poids de 'son iniquité la fera, sans cesse, retomber sur elle-même; 'éternellement forcée de prendre l'essor vers le ciel, 'éternellement repoussée vers l'abîme.'

'The guilty soul once separated from the body, the 'phantoms that abused it will vanish ; all will bear it on, 'all will precipitate it into the bosom of God ; and the 'weight of its iniquity will make it ceaselessly fall back on 'itself ; eternally forced to soar towards heaven, eternally 'thrust back towards the abyss.'

Is this wavering on the subject of hell? Again the Abbé says, 'Depuis la controverse suscitée sur cette 'question par Origène, l'enseignement universel de la 'Chrétienté orthodoxe est tellement développé et positif, 'qu'il est impossible d'y voir autre chose qu'une séparation 'véritablement éternelle de la catégorie d'en bas avec 'les autres.'

'Since the controversy raised on this question by 'Origen, the universal teaching of orthodox Christianity 'has been so developed and positive, that it is impossible 'to see in it anything but a separation really eternal 'between those below and the rest.'

Could anything be clearer than this?

And again I ask, Is this 'wavering on the subject of 'hell'?

And once more :

'Sur l'enfer, nous avons dit ce qu'il faut penser

'*du point capital*, celui de la distinction éternelle de cette 'catégorie d'avec celle du ciel.'

'On hell, we have said what we have to think as to 'the capital point, that of the eternal distinction between 'this category and that of heaven.'

What he says about the theory of mitigation does not touch that 'capital point' of the permanent distinction between the good and the bad in the other world, and is a theory which he reminds us was held by Ravignan as the *traditional belief* of the Jesuit Society, and was declared exempt from censure by the Congregation of the Index.

Here is, then, positive proof that the Abbé Le Noir is giving us (1) nothing new, nothing which points to a modern tendency, and (2) nothing which is contrary to the 'capital point' of the whole matter, viz., the everlasting distinction between the lost and the saved.

The reviewer's contention is, as I have said, simply a false accusation. This false statement would no doubt have been repeated from lip to lip; and done good service in some Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome. Nor can I altogether hope to have despatched it. When the 'Church Quarterly' writes like this, and the 'Guardian' praises the article, though guardedly, and the 'Spectator' calls our attention to this particular passage, with such admiration, even indulging in personal comments, it is too much to hope that the misstatement will not have a life. But there may be some who will read this and feel 'Anglican defences' are not such safe things as they supposed.

Before closing this chapter I will notice two differences in the attitude of a Catholic towards this awful verity, or rather two different points in which he differs from an Anglican in respect to it.

As an Anglican, I felt the vital character of this soul-

subduing truth, and its close affinity with all other portions of the Christian revelation. But I never could feel sure that it would not be tampered with in time to come. My ground of rest (and I have often expressed it to others) was that there was one portion (as I then called it) of the Catholic Church, which would never yield one jot or tittle. The obstinacy (as perhaps in other points I should have irreverently called it) of the Church in communion with the See of S. Peter would be its safeguard there. And its persistency might keep alive the faith on this point amongst English Churchmen. It was at one time only too likely that the Athanasian Creed would disappear from its present position in the services of the English Church. Who does not know how sanguine the late Archbishop of Canterbury was about this? He told a friend of mine that but for the difficulties raised by such men as my friend, it would have been done, and peace (he asserted) would have been secured. Now, anyone who was conversant with the currents of opinion in the English Church knew well that the elimination of the Athanasian Creed from her services meant the freedom of her members from the necessity of asserting so plainly the doctrine of everlasting punishment. It meant, too, as the corollary of that, dogmatic indifference. It is, alas! only too certain that since that time, although a happy victory was gained in favour of its retention, still the doctrine of Universalism, in more or less pronounced forms, has gained ground in the English Church. The most orthodox on this point used to be those most eager to raise the ritual of their churches. There are signs that this is no longer the case. I have given my experience of the last place in which I ministered, in my book on 'Authority,' p. 14. I might add that in the last place but one in which I ministered, the two best preachers in the place were both conspicuously unsound on this question, and one of them

was a very High Churchman. He heard confessions, and exceeded all the rest in that place in his external reverence. Again, few things startled me so much on returning from India, as finding that a friend of mine, who had written most violently against this same doctrine, had been appointed temporarily to hear the confessions of a large sisterhood. It was thought that his heterodoxy on this subject would not affect his dealing with individual souls, whilst in a small community to which I once belonged, five, at least, of the clergy became Universalists.

I make no apology for stating my experience on this matter. My reviewer has challenged me, and in connection with what I consider a libel on the Catholic Church. I will tell him then freely what I feel in the way of difference as to this matter in what he calls 'the 'community which I have joined.'

It is this : *The truth rests on a different basis.* The authority that I acknowledged before was our Lord's plain words, as interpreted, 'as I thought,' by the common consent of the Church diffusive. But it was what 'I 'thought.' I had picked out this interpretation for myself; with the help, of course, of Dr. Pusey or others. I held it thoroughly. But how changed is all this in the Roman Catholic Church ! There is now an indefinable, spiritual, overawing something, which speaks with the same tone of voice, with that same indescribable 'authority,' with which our Lord spoke on the Mount. In other words, *Holy Church has a living Voice.* That voice is heard not only in a formula which enshrines in few words the proposition, to be asserted by the intellect, and professed with the life, but it is in the very air, breathing its sweet command into the marrow of one's being, and imparting to the various avenues, with which it reaches the ear of the soul, its own character of infallibility, its own witness to its divine self. The magisterium of the Church is

round about us, and we feel its penetrating power and bend to its slightest whisper. It is the same Lord that speaks in the Holy Gospel, *and in the living voice of Holy Church.*

II. Another point of difference in our attitude towards the subject of hell is this: We Catholics *believe* in Purgatory and the sacrifice of the Mass. We are continually occupied with suffrages for the souls of those whom we have known and loved. We are perpetually to be found at the 'sacrifices of Masses,' in which we know Christ is offered for the living and the dead. Winning remission of temporal punishment or its equivalent, for those who have died in a state of grace, but are, perchance, unfit for the bliss of the Vision—this is one great work of our lives. The Church is ever at it. In a word, our eschatology is the basis of continuous action. We do not idly, or dreadfully, or absorbingly, dwell on hell. We believe in it, but we believe also in the power of those 'sacrifices of Masses' on behalf of those who, though not in hell, have narrowly escaped it, as well as for those who did live to God, but ever so little offended His justice and merited His wrath. We know, too, how one was nearly being beatified, but one thing proved fatal to the Church's recognition of his sanctity. He had once pronounced a final condemnation on an individual who died on the scaffold with the words of impenitence on his lips. He went beyond the charity of the Church. And so what individual is there, unless it be Judas himself, for whom we would not breathe a suffrage tremulous with some faint hope?

Our thoughts, therefore, on future punishment take in the great whole of those, on the one hand, who may have lost their souls, about whom (whoever they be) we mean to be silent, and, on the other hand, that vast number who lost here much grace and merited much penalty, but did not lose all.

Hence the thought of hell, whilst it operates to produce the fruit of holy fear in ourselves, and increases our desire to save others, provokes in the same breath, so to say, the thought of our duties to those who are detained for their faults in the endurance of chastising love. It is the daily voice of the whole Church, and not the opinion of some individuals, tolerated by some, denounced by others.

Two undergraduates were returning home to their college in Oxford, one Sunday evening in 1860, from a lecture in the hall of another college, whose Principal afterwards made his submission to the Holy See. The lecture had been on a passage in S. Paul's Epistle to Timothy, and the lecturer spoke in favour of prayers for the faithful departed. One of these undergraduates determined from that night to pray for the soul of his mother, who was dead, and he has since been received into the Catholic Church. The other expressed his distress at the idea of such teaching from a clergyman of the Church of England. His father was a clergyman, his tutors were clergymen, he had numerous friends among the clergy. No one of them taught the advisability, or even the legitimacy, of prayers for the dead. When pressed by his friend with the argument that, whether the clergy taught it or not, they had seen that night that it was countenanced in Holy Scripture, his reply was, 'But if it is true, what are we to think of our neglect, and 'of the neglect of the Church of England for 300 years?' He remained loyal to the traditional teaching of the Church of England, which ignored such prayer, and he was ultimately appointed bishop.[1]

[1] One well-known passage was, doubtless, originally intended by some to cover such prayers, and accepted by others as not necessarily teaching their lawfulness. The effect of this single ambiguous phrase was to stifle such prayer for 300 years.

But in ignoring such prayers all these centuries, omitting them from her public services, the Church of England has loosened men's hold on the doctrine of everlasting punishment. Without suffrages for those who are detained from the Beatific Vision through the stains contracted in this life, hell must become in a community at large either the detestable heresy of the Calvinist, or a faint opinion—weak enough to vanish before the comprehensiveness and toleration of kindly hearts. The practice of prayers for the dead is doubtless on the increase in the Church of England, but it tends to become, not an accompaniment, but a substitute for the doctrine of everlasting punishment, and it is not part and parcel of her public life.

I conclude, then, that this reviewer has not proved his point. As proof of a change in the Church's teaching, he has simply adduced some passages from Catholic writers, who teach the same as Catholic writers have taught much more than a thousand years ago, and who lay it down as an article of faith that the punishment of the finally impenitent is perpetual and everlasting. And his accusation that I had not considered the question of the state of things in this matter in the Catholic, or, as he would call it, the Roman Catholic, Church remains unproved.

CHAPTER X.

PUSEY AND LAUD.

HARDLY any clergyman of a certain standing can consider the question of submission to the Holy See without having the argument forced upon him, 'Dr. Pusey remained where he was; why cannot you?'

Dependence upon Dr. Pusey has been for some time a sort of 'note' of the Church of England. Cardinal Newman writes to him: 'You are not an individual; 'from early years you have devoted yourself to the established Church, and after between forty and fifty years of 'unremitting labour in its service, your roots and your 'branches stretch out through every portion of its large 'territory. You, more than anyone else alive, have been 'the present and untiring agent by whom a great work has 'been effected in it; and, far more than is usual, you 'have received in your lifetime, as well as merited, the 'confidence of your brethren. You cannot speak merely 'for yourself; your antecedents, your existing influence, 'are a pledge to us, that what you may determine will be 'the determination of a multitude. Numbers, too, for 'whom you cannot properly be said to speak, will be 'moved by your authority or your arguments; and 'numbers, again, who are of a school more recent than 'your own, and who are only not your followers, because 'they have outstripped you in their free speeches and 'demonstrative acts in our behalf, will for the occasion,

'accept you as their spokesman. There is no one any-
'where among ourselves, in your own body, or, I suppose,
'in the Greek Church, who could affect so large a circle
'of men, so virtuous, so able, so learned, so zealous, as
'come more or less under your influence.'[1]

Catholics must sometimes have wondered what it was in Dr. Pusey by which we were so fascinated some years ago. I can, of course, only speak of my own experience, and from observation of a limited circle of his admirers, those of my own standing. For myself I can say that two things specially attracted me in Dr. Pusey. First, his piety was of a most engaging kind. As an undergraduate, I felt that he cared for that which was above all controversial considerations. He cared for one's soul. There were, no doubt, other tutors in the Oxford of that day who cared for the souls of undergraduates. But they did not show it as Dr. Pusey did. The first time I ever spoke to Dr. Pusey, I felt no doubt that that which was to me priceless, beyond all considerations of honours in the schools—the perfection of my spiritual life—was to him the chief concern. And I never lost that feeling with Dr. Pusey. He was, I said to myself, a man of prayer. All his sermons showed that there was an intensity of the 'spiritual' about him which gave a peculiar charm to his voice; his whole manner was most winning. As an undergraduate, I could not imagine Dr. Pusey to be wrong in anything. And yet I was brought up to consider that there were some things in which he ought not to be followed. As I was not told distinctly what these were, I felt sure that they were not amongst those things in which I did follow him. He taught me to fast, and to use an imitation, however feeble, of that most sublime of Catholic devotions (after the Holy Mass), viz. the Rosary. He taught me to

[1] Letter to Dr. Pusey on occasion of his *Eirenicon*, p. 2.

confess my sins, and to try to grow in grace. He led me to daily Communion during the last two years of my undergraduate life.

This, then, was, I believe, the first cause of Dr. Pusey's extraordinary influence over us, as undergraduates, viz. his piety.

The second source of his influence was, I think, his chivalry. He had been in the wars. He had been accused of nameless iniquities. I remember Mr. Marriot's old nurse, who saw Dr. Pusey every day during Mr. M.'s long illness, whilst cherishing a great love for the Doctor, joining in the chorus of condemnation. I had read his account of Scupoli, and knew that that most beautiful book of instruction in the spiritual life was written when Scupoli was under a false accusation. And few men had been more thoroughly abused than Dr. Pusey. But he was indifferent to it all. He went on teaching just the same. He still defended and assisted those good ladies who had been all but universally condemned by bishops and clergy. He still heard confessions, though his bishop so strongly disapproved of it, and his archbishop publicly condemned the whole system of confession. We felt confidence in a man who could weather a storm like that. I remember, as an undergraduate, taking up a pamphlet by a clergyman who had, as we called it, seceded to Rome, in which he laid great stress on the fact that for so many centuries the English clergy had been unconscious of their priesthood, from which he argued that they could not possess it. I turned in thought to Dr. Pusey: he, at any rate, believed in his priesthood, and was worth a thousand, or ten thousand, who denied it. It was clear to me that the sacerdotal theory was the true one, and it was enough for me that such a man as Dr. Pusey believed in his own priesthood. But besides his piety and chivalry, Dr.

Pusey's industry was prodigious. I attended his lectures on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets and simply marvelled at his learning. Tales were rife all over Oxford, as to the number of hours that he could devote to study. Having made his acquaintance as an undergraduate, I had the privilege of being in constant correspondence with him for the next thirteen years. But the time came when my confidence in his guidance *in one region of thought* received a rude shock. Circumstances led me to go more carefully into the case of Apiarius in the fifth century, and the relation of the African Church to the Bishop of Rome. And I felt convinced that on that point Dr. Pusey was mistaken. Yet it was one of his main points. It has always been one of the main stays of the Anglican side of the great controversy with Rome.[1] The so-called independence of the African Church is invariably supposed to cover the case of the English Church in her attitude of independence towards Rome. I was possessed with that fiction of fictions, that the English Church in pre-Reformation times was independent in spirit, sufficiently to cover the case of actual severance. For that, of course, is the point. A youth may be of a peculiarly independent character, and object to consulting his father on some particular point in his conduct, without distantly dreaming of being independent in the essentials of his life. The two things are entirely different, so that the one may argue mere independence of character, whilst the other may amount to mortal sin. But I thought the independence of the English Church in pre-Reformation times was of such a nature that the severance in the time of Henry VIII. was merely its logical development, and not a new departure. And I thought that the case of the African Church covered the separation of England, trusting to

[1] See next chapter.

Dr. Pusey's presentment of the case. But at length I had the same documents before me as he had. It was no question of mere learning, but of forming a judgment on the same documents. And it seemed to me that the judgment formed by the Roman Catholic Church on this question of S. Augustine and his relations with Rome, was right, and Dr. Pusey was wrong. But then 'he was 'so learned and so good'; it seemed rash to differ from so great a man: and if one could not depend on Dr. Pusey, on whom could one depend?

Some years later my confidence in Dr. Pusey received a severer shock. I came across a letter of Mr. Allies to Dr. Pusey, which dealt with the following statement. Dr. Pusey says, in his 'Eirenicon,' concerning Mr. Allies: 'I 'would say that his second work, after that, in despair of 'the English Church on the Gorham judgment, he left 'the Church of England, is no real answer to this, which 'he wrote, not as a partisan, but as the fruit of investiga-'tions as to whose issue he was indifferent.' I had always absolved myself from reading Mr. Allies's second book, relying on this statement of Dr. Pusey's. His first book seemed to me quite the ablest defence ever written on behalf of the Church of England, and real fairness would naturally have led one to read his reply. But Dr. Pusey, I said to myself, knew him well. And he had decided that Mr. Allies wrote his first book with a mind open and impartial, and his second in the spirit of a partisan. And I was content to take Dr. Pusey's condemnation of Mr. Allies as well-grounded. What was my horror on suddenly discovering that (as I have since discovered in so many cases) Dr. Pusey was mistaken in his facts! Mr. Allies wrote both books as a member of the Church of England, and from a comfortable rectory. The first enabled him to keep his rectory, and the second obliged him to quit it, and begin life over again. My heart sank within me.

If Dr. Pusey could not deal fairly with a living man, how was one to trust him in regard to the Fathers of the first few centuries? If he could so misrepresent one whom he had known so well, how could one trust him in regard to the saints of old? I had already read enough of the Fathers to feel that there was another side to the question. But it is hard to human nature to part with a long-trusted guide, and it took me years. My dependence on him was finally destroyed when I discovered the real state of things in regard to Archbishop Chichele, about whom he made such extraordinary statements *à propos* of Archbishop Parker's consecration. He says in the 'Eirenicon' (p. 232) that the form used at the consecration of Archbishop Parker, which is generally con-'sidered inadequate, was carefully framed on the old 'form used in the consecration of Archbishop Chichele 'a century before (as I found by collation of the registers 'in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, now many 'years ago).'

Now, considering the importance of the subject, to an English Churchman, of Archbishop Parker's consecration —all his sacraments depending upon it—and considering that the 'Eirenicon' is addressed to members of the Church of Rome in the most public way, one would expect the greatest care in the treatment of it. And this passage gives the impression of learning and care on the part of the Doctor. So he continues: 'The form used 'in Chichele's time I could not trace further back. Its 'use was exceptional, having been resorted to at a time 'when the English Church did not acknowledge either of 'the claimants to the papacy.' All this looks like real learning. And then he adds, in his usual telling style: 'It was of the providence of God that they had that 'precedent to fall back upon.' And then the corollary: 'But the selection of this one precedent . . . shows

'how careful Parker and his consecrators were to follow 'the ancient precedents.'

We know from State documents that, as a matter of fact, the consecrators left it in the hands of Elizabeth and Lord Burleigh whether they would have any archbishop at all. But what are we to think of this proof of their care? Mr. Bailey, as Canon Estcourt points out, speaks of this as 'a very important fact.' And Mr. Bailey's book on Anglican orders was considered one of the best we had.[1]

'On the Question of Anglican Ordination,' p. 116.

'A very important fact!' But Chichele was not consecrated archbishop at all. He was consecrated Bishop of S. David's, and not in England. He was only elected archbishop, and *transferred* to Canterbury.

He was consecrated by the Pope at Siena! What does it all mean? Did they use the form at Archbishop Parker's *consecration* which was used at Bishop Chichele's *installation* to Canterbury?

Canon Estcourt well remarks that 'it is impossible to 'see . . . what meaning can be attached to Dr. Pusey's 'statement.'

But what are we to think of Dr. Pusey's accuracy on such matters? Was not our dependence on him in these questions misplaced? I believe no one would more wish to say this than himself in that other world where our controversies are at an end.

But, such is the authority which he still wields, that this very passage from the 'Eirenicon,' with its extraordinary blunder, is referred to in Mr. Gore's 'Roman 'Catholic Claims' in its original form (p. 74) with approval. And in the enlarged form of that book a reference is made to the same passage, with the suggestion of a 'possible' alternative, viz. that they borrowed from the

[1] Since writing the above, I have learnt that Mr. Bailey has been received into the (Roman) Catholic Church.

Exeter pontifical. Here it is still 'Archbishop Chichele's consecration.' But in the second edition Mr. Gore seems to have discovered the mistake, as the word 'archbishop' is dropped, and it is 'Chichele's consecration'—still, of course, erroneous. And we are referred to the '"Eireni-'con," p. 232, *as corrected by Hutton*, "Anglican Ministry," 'p. 324,' which should be 'as refuted' by Hutton. The reference ought, of course, to have been boldly withdrawn, for 'as corrected by Hutton' it is shown to be a misstatement, and, therefore, does not bear out Mr. Gore's supposition.

Mr. Gore has depended on Dr. Pusey, and Dr. Pusey has proved, in this important matter, a broken reed. It has certainly pierced his reputation. 'Dr. 'Pusey's statement, as corrected by Hutton,' given as a corroboration on the question connected with Anglican orders, turns out to be a tissue of misstatements crammed into half a page. Surely it would have been better to have owned at once that Dr. Pusey was mistaken.

But this was precisely what it was so hard to induce Dr. Pusey himself to do. When Dr. Pusey kept to positive teaching in harmony with the Catholic Church, his immense industry served him well. He could even then occasionally fall into error, as in his unbalanced statements on post-baptismal sin, which he in a measure retracted in his sermon on absolution. But he cannot be accused of inaccuracy, downright mistakes, in that part of his teaching. His book on Daniel is a marvel of exegetical and controversial power. His note (to take a single instance) on the 'Desire of all Nations' in his Commentary on the Minor Prophets would be admitted by all to be an admirable instance of fulness, and terseness, and scholarly exactness.

But directly we turn to his controversial writings against Rome, his hand seems to lose its cunning. His

life, too, lost its aroma to many of us. Whilst defending Catholic truth he was the 'despised of men;' he was assailed by every kind of calumny: he had, in a word, the surest sign of acceptance in an outward correspondence to his Master—the world hated him, and vented its hate in the most ludicrous lies. But when he began to attack Rome, the world applauded. Everything was changed. His learning betrayed him; his logic forsook him; his persistent industry took the form of what I can only call a determined adherence to his own opinion. Probably no book has appeared in the present century bearing the marks of such prodigious energy combined with such a list of misinterpretations, and even misquotations, as Dr. Pusey's 'Eirenicon.' The misquotations are not on minor points, nor some of them such that there can be two sides to the question. And they were pointed out to Dr. Pusey. They were publicly exposed, so far as they could be (for English Churchmen are probably the only body of men in this country who do not read both sides of the question that most affects them), and Dr. Pusey advertised a reply. He wrote to the author of the work, in which his inaccuracies were exposed, one sentence: 'Have patience with me and I will pay thee all.' But years elapsed and no answer came. Other controversial books against Rome appeared, but the one book which alone could clear Dr. Pusey's reputation never saw the light. The accusations were made in 1866. A summary of them will be found in the Preface to Harper's 'Peace through the Truth,' 2nd series (Burns and Oates, 1874).

They are seventeen in number, and include such counts as these. Dr. Pusey has stated, in his attack on Transubstantiation, that the remaining of the substance of the elements after consecration was an open question in the Church till the beginning of the 15th century, and quotes, among others, Biel, Melchior Canus, Alphonso de

Castro, Hurtado, S. J., Vasquez, S. J., Suarez, S. J., in proof of his proposition. Father Harper ('Peace through the 'Truth,' 1st series) has shown that none of those writers countenances Dr. Pusey's assertion.

Dr. Pusey has quoted Durandus, Scotus, and Bassolis on the same question, in his favour; but he has quoted the opinions they refuted, as their own. They openly contradict Dr. Pusey's proposition.

Dr. Pusey quotes S. Thomas Aquinas in favour of his opinion, but S. Thomas Aquinas contradicts Dr. Pusey.

Dr. Pusey, in quoting Suarez in his favour, translates 'Hæc fuit antiqua sententia' 'this was *the* ancient opinion' whereas the context shows that Suarez meant, 'this was *an* ancient opinion' related by Bonaventure. On turning to S. Bonaventure we find that he expressly says it was an opinion of a few ('aliquorum') and that they were 'moderns' in the time of the Master of the Sentences. So that Suarez does not mean in the least what Dr. Pusey understands him to say.

Dr. Pusey quotes a number of Fathers in support of his theory that when our Lord spoke of the 'fruit of the 'vine' in the Cenacle, He was speaking of the consecrated chalice. They have all been shown to be clearly against him, except one, who seems to favour Dr. Pusey's interpretation, which is directed against the doctrine of Transubstantiation. But S. Hilary is only made to agree by translating his words 'that fruit of the vine,' instead of (as they should be translated) 'the fruit of that vine.'

Dr. Pusey's translation of S. Clement's αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου' blood of the grape,' which helps to support his view, is again, a mistranslation.

These are but samples of the inaccuracies of the 'Eirenicon.' How different from his other writings! What a fatality seems to attend his attacks on the points in which he differed from Rome!

By enormous industry Dr. Pusey helped to win back some of the truth, which had been trampled under foot in the teaching of the Establishment for centuries. He went through the fire of lying assaults, and the chill waters of Episcopal coldness and misapprehension, in assisting to bring his countrymen back from some of the heresies in which they had been involved by the terrible catastrophe of the 16th century.

Meanwhile every little Catholic child knew, from the dawn of reason, the truths which he thus laboriously and meritoriously regained.

But the moment he began to attack the Holy See, he fell into mistake, misquotation, and misunderstanding. There are three points on which Dr. Pusey has certainly left his mark on a whole generation of devout Christians. The amount of dependence placed on him has led to the wide adoption of (1) his theory of the unity of the Church (2) his idea of a Papal contradiction, (3) his opposition to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The arguments on which he has relied to support these can be shown to be full of misstatements.

(1) *His theory of unity.*

There were few things on which he laid more stress towards the end of his life than the fact, as he conceived it to be, that the Catholic and Roman doctrine rested on an 'à priori' assumption. He contended that it was a sample of what the poet describes when he speaks of some who

> 'nobly take the high *priori* road,
> And reason downward, till they doubt of God.'

So, he would say, a Roman Catholic begins by saying 'A visible body must have a visible head.' 'Why must?' he would reply. 'Is it not an assumption?'

But, of course, the Catholic argument is, that *unless*

reasons can be shown to the contrary, the natural supposition is that, when the body is spoken of, it includes a head in the same order of life ; if it is a visible body, needs must be, *unless cause can be shown why it should not*, that it will have a visible head. But Dr. Pusey went on still farther, and maintained: not only is there no visible head to the visible body, but that the unity on which he saw that the Fathers *uno ore* lay such stress, does not even require visible intercommunion. This, he contends, would be a happiness to the Church, but is not a necessity of its life. The Catholic holds that it is. Even in the time of the anti-popes, people did not hold that all was in such confusion that there was no visible head ; but they held that there must be a visible head, and therefore either this or that claimant was the rightful occupant of the See, and they ranged themselves under one or other, as it seemed to each most proper. The misery and confusion of the time did not in the least produce the theory that the visible head was no part of the Divine institution. Such a notion never entered the mind of the Saints of that troubled time. They held what S. Cyprian held. The theory of a hidden unity being sufficient, consisting in the participation of similar sacraments, whilst there was no outward communion, was expressly repudiated by S. Cyprian. S. Cyprian is the Father to whom Dr. Pusey turned with the greatest enthusiasm. He had, unfortunately, his own way of interpreting one or two passages, a mode unheard of until the exigencies of Anglican controversy struck it out ; and he comforted himself in the belief that the English Church was taking up a similar line to that adopted by S. Cyprian at the time when he was teaching heterodoxy on the subject of Baptism administered by heretics. But S. Cyprian plainly disclaims the theory of unity, adopted by Dr. Pusey, in his 'Eirenicon,' and by Canon Carter in

a well-known sermon on Unity. The latter adduces the history of the ten tribes of Israel, favoured by Prophets in their isolation from the centre of unity, and not, so he holds, called upon to return to that centre. Their case is sufficient to cover that of the English Church, who (it is maintained), in her isolation and visible disunion, has had her prophets. So that there may be, according to these writers, a sufficient underlying unity preserved, although there is no visible union. Now, S. Cyprian happens to deal with precisely this question in reference to the same history. He expressly warns us against quoting the case of the ten tribes as an instance of what might happen *within* the Church. His words are: 'When 'the twelve tribes of Israel were torn asunder, the Prophet 'Ahijah rent his garment. But because *Christ's people can-* '*not be rent*, His coat, woven and conjoined throughout, 'was not divided by those it fell to. Individual, conjoined, 'co-entwined, it shows the coherent *concord* of our people, 'who put on Christ. In the sacrament and sign of His 'garment, He has declared the unity of His Church.' S. Cyprian thus contrasts the twelve tribes with the Church. Ten of the twelve tribes could be severed from the rest, and remain part of Israel; not so with the Church. The one garment, *visibly* one, is the symbol of the Church; not the children of Israel, divided into two. Dr. Pusey, however, has another simile. He likens the various 'Churches,' as he calls them, to the streams that went out of Paradise. 'They are,' he says, 'all one, though 'parted.' S. Augustine considers them *all out of the Church*, and in schism, as soon as they leave Paradise, and denies that they can have the blessedness of the life within. I remember, the first time (some years ago) I discovered that S. Augustine used this simile to establish exactly the contrary to what Dr. Pusey does, shutting the book as though it were some bad dream. Dr. Pusey, evidently, had different ideas of unity from S. Augustine.

Oxford translation of S. Cyprian's Treatise, p. 136

Mr. Gore, in the use of this simile, follows Dr. Pusey, not S. Augustine.

The gist of Dr. Pusey's theory of unity is contained in his assertion that the formal unity of the Church is 'not an unity of will, but an unity of nature' ('Eirenicon,' p. 51), and that 'the first and very chiefest character of 'unity is not anything which comes forth from us. It is 'infused into us by God' (p. 52).

By means of this definition, Dr. Pusey endeavours to exculpate the Church of England from the charge of such isolation from the Catholic world as would be fatal to her claim to be part of the *one* Holy Catholic Church.

For many years I held this theory myself. It so exactly suited our case in the English Church. The Church, we knew, must be one ; the Anglican Church is not at one with the Roman: therefore a unity, which does not involve concord, is sufficient.

I did not see what is now, to me, as clear as day, that a unity of *nature* cannot constitute the unity of any society of men. A unity of nature, *i.e.* of participation in the nature of Adam, does not constitute the unity of human society. It is its material, its preliminary, not social unity itself. And so a unity of nature, in the supernatural order—a common participation in the nature of the second Adam—is only the prerequisite, the material of the Church's unity, and not that unity itself. A society with no intercommunion between the members is a contradiction in terms, and, as a rule, two names soon appear. As a society it has disappeared, and only the units, the potentialities of society, remain. 'We are all one, though 'we hold no communion with one another, do not believe 'the same faith, and do not worship together ;' such is the unity which Dr. Pusey boldly asserts to be an adequate realisation of our Lord's prayer 'that they may be all one' —adequate, that is, for what is essential, though missing

See Harper's 'Peace through the Truth,' vol. i. pp. 56–71.

the perfect fulfilment. If the unity of the Church is 'an 'unity of nature, not of will,' there is no room for the sin of schism, and the visibility of the Church will be compatible with visible opposition, visible separation, visible disunion and discord. But such a theory as this is not that of the Fathers, to whom Dr. Pusey refers. We have seen that it is distinctly repudiated by S. Cyprian, in his treatise on the unity of the Church. It is distinctly repudiated by three other writers, on whom Dr. Pusey rests his case.

Harper, 'Peace through the Truth,' pp. 68–71.
In Joann. l. xi. c. ii.

1. Take, for instance, S. Cyril of Alexandria. Speaking of the prayer of our Lord for the unity of His Church, he says: 'He supplicates them for the bond of unanimity 'and peace which may conduct the faithful together to 'an unity of soul.' And again: 'This most perfect union 'must be imitated by the union of the faithful in one mind 'and in one soul.' And again: 'When He adds, "As We '"are one," He is evidently not bestowing on the faithful a 'change of nature, but proposing what is his by nature, as 'a pattern and image of the unity of will in us.' The unity of the Church, therefore, for which our Lord prayed, must, according to S. Cyril, *express itself* in union. Churches, permanently separated from each other, can be no fulfilment of this intention of our Lord's. It is idle to call them one Church. They are not numerically one. The Church may hold within herself for *a while* those who are alienating themselves in their faith, but only in the hope of bringing them back to the unity of the faith. But the English Establishment does not stand in this relation to the Church in communion with the See of S. Peter. She has accepted a position of permanent corporate separation; and if she were a part of the Church, the Church's note of unity would be gone. For that unity is an unity of will *as well as*, and *proceeding from*, and *witnessing to*, an unity of nature.

2. S. Hilary speaks of the unity of the faithful as not owing its *origin* to unity of will. He is dealing with the favourite Arian contention that the unity of the Father with the Son, was a unity of will, not of nature. S. Hilary's answer is practically that it is *both*. In dealing with the Arian argument, it was important to lay stress on the supernatural *principle* of the unity of the faithful, viz. the infusion of a new nature, or union with the second Adam. He does not say that the unity of the faithful is 'an unity of nature, not of will,' but an unity of will based on an unity of nature.

But in another passage he expressly contradicts Dr. Pusey's theory of unity. And there he is dealing with the subject *ex professo*, which he was not in the above passage. He says: 'But because the body of the Church 'is one, not mixed up of a sort of confusion of bodies, 'which are united in an undistinguishable mass and form-'less heap, but by unity of faith, by the fellowship of 'charity, by concord of act and will, by one gift of the 'Sacrament in all, we are all one.' Tract. in Ps. cxxi.

3. S. Chrysostom, to whom again Dr. Pusey refers, exhibits a totally different attitude towards the subject of the Church's unity from that which is implied in Dr. Pusey's definition, that it is 'formally' 'an union 'of nature, not of will.' In preaching on the subject of unity, in his two homilies on Ephesians iv., he speaks of external unity as the natural parent and guarantee of unity of spirit, although, of course, the opposite is also true. He says the Apostle, after saying there is 'one 'body,' 'beautifully adds "and one spirit," showing that 'from the one body there will be one spirit; or that it is 'possible that there may be indeed one body, and yet not 'one spirit; as, for instance, if any member of it should 'be a friend of heretics.' Homily *loco.*

What would S. Chrysostom have said of a religious

body which professedly and contentedly 'comprehends' within its large embrace, and admits to an equality of teaching authority, Dr. Ryle and others (witness his address on the 'Lord's Supper' in its fifth edition), and Dr. King? S. Chrysostom also, in the same Homily, speaking of the gravity of the sin of schism, says, 'How 'a certain holy man said what might seem to be a bold 'thing. Yet, nevertheless, he spoke it out. What, then, is 'this? He said that not even the blood of martyrdom 'can wash out this sin.' This was Cyprian, whom S. Augustine praised for not separating himself from S. Stephen, although (wrongly) considering S. Stephen to be defending a matter of discipline which was injurious to the Church. S. Chrysostom says again: 'If, on the 'one hand, those persons have doctrines also contrary 'to ours, then on that account further it is not right to 'mix with them; if, on the other hand, they hold the 'same opinions, the reason for not mixing with them is 'greater still.' Such was his conviction of the heinousness of schism. He lays it down further on: 'To make 'a schism in the Church is no less an evil than to fall 'into heresy.' But according to Dr. Pusey's theory there cannot be such a thing as schism, as long as people 'are communicants,' even though within two separated bodies. They would still have 'an unity of nature, not 'of will.'

It is surely then nothing less than bold assertion to define the Church's note of unity as consisting in oneness of nature, not of will.

And nothing but a serious perversion of Patristic texts can deduce such a theory from even the Fathers of the first few centuries.

According to them, the possession of a common supernatural life was to be evinced to the world by a supernatural unity of action. The nature thus raised by

the infusion of a new life is a nature of which a free will is the central sovereign power. And it is the concordant action of multitudinous free wills, which bespeaks the illapse of some new power, enabling them thus to divest themselves of their natural discordance. 'Christ gave us 'peace,' says S. Cyprian: 'He bade us be of one heart 'and one mind; He commanded that the covenant of 'affection and charity should be kept unbroken and in-'violate; he cannot show himself a martyr, who has not 'kept this love of the brotherhood.' (De Unitate.) 'He 'who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think 'that he holds the faith?' Of what unity is the Saint speaking? Of a unity which took its rise from a single Apostle—'a commencement is made from unity, that the 'Church may be set forth as one.' From what unity was the commencement made? 'The Lord saith unto Peter '. . . Thou art Cephas, &c. To him again, after his 'resurrection, He says, Feed My sheep. Upon him being 'one He builds His church.' The unity of the Church consists, therefore, in the union of wills under one head. It is something to be *held*. S. Optatus, writing in the fourth century, giving no argument of his own, but speaking of what was admitted on all sides, and could thus be pressed upon his opponent, as the admittedly universal teaching of that century, says to a Donatist, '*You cannot deny that you know* that the chair of Peter, 'first of all, was fixed in the city of Rome, in which 'Peter, the head of all the Apostles, sat; whence, too, 'he was named Cephas, in which single chair unity *was* '*to be observed by all*, so that the rest of the Apostles 'should not each maintain a chair to himself; and that 'forthwith he should be a schismatic and a sinner who 'against that singular chair set up another.' (S. Opt. contra Parm. bk. iii. c. 6.)

Now here is a simple issue. S. Optatus and Dr.

Pusey cannot both be right in their estimate of the Church's teaching concerning her note of unity in the fourth century. Yet S. Optatus by anticipation provides a plain condemnation of the action of Cranmer and Parker, and consequently of the present position of the Anglican establishment. He provides also a contradiction of Dr. Pusey's theory, that the formal unity of the Church consists in 'an unity of nature, not of will.' It is unity under one head. And S. Optatus speaks as a witness to the universal teaching of the Church in the fourth century.

The question that ought to be asked, is, not how is it that Dr. Pusey could remain in the Church of England, but how is it that he could, with the Fathers of the fourth century before him, enunciate a theory which is contradicted by S. Cyprian, S. Cyril, S. Hilary, S. Chrysostom, and S. Optatus?

The Church of England did, in the sixteenth century —first through fear of Henry VIII., and by his orders, as I have shown above, and next, in obedience to Elizabeth —what all these Saints must have condemned as contravening the unity of the Church. So soon as, in reading the Fathers, Cardinal Newman and others came to see that this was the case, they returned to the one Church, the Church of their baptism, their real mother. Dr. Pusey remained behind. One cause is manifest. He misread those Fathers. Why he so misread, whether through natural confusedness of perception, or presumptuous trust in self, or from whatever cause, it is not for us to say. Suffice it, that what will excuse one man, will not excuse another, and that a child will often go right when the learned go astray.

(2) Next let us take *Dr. Pusey's difficulty about Papal contradictions*. Dr. Pusey says :—

'I see absolutely no way in which, upon the forbidden

'degrees, Alexander VI. can be reconciled with Gregory I., 'or how the acceptance of the Sixth General Council, 'which anathematized Honorius as a heretic, by Leo II., 'and his own individual condemnation of him, are recon- 'cileable with the doctrine of the infallibility of both, in 'all which they pronounce, &c.'

And 'these are but specimens of the inextricable 'difficulties in which, I fear, the Roman Church would 'involve itself by acceding to this doctrine of the Papal 'infallibility, not only as to matters of faith and doctrine, 'but as to matters not connected therewith, and even as 'to historical facts.'

In this last sentence Dr. Pusey has described a doctrine which no one holds.

After the Vatican decree, Dr. Pusey ought to have seen that his 'fears' could never be realised. The teaching of the Vatican decree is as follows :—

'Faithfully adhering to the tradition received from 'the beginning of the Christian faith for the glory of God 'our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and 'the salvation of Christian people, the Sacred Council 'approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma 'divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he 'speaks *ex cathedrâ*—that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians—by virtue 'of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine 'regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal 'Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in 'blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which 'the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be 'endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals ; 'and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff 'are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent 'of the Church.'

Against this decree, Dr. Pusey has forged no weapon

that can be said to have inflicted so much as a surface wound.

The censure of Honorius has been dealt with in a previous chapter, where it has been shown that the interesting history of the Sixth General Council is at least fatal to the Anglican position. It is consistent, also, with the implicit belief of the Church at that time in the immunity of the Holy See from error, *as expressed in the Vatican decree.* With any other view of it, we have nothing to do.

A few words will put the reader in possession of the facts concerning the supposed disagreement between Gregory I. and Alexander VI. They are to be found in full, in Harper's 'Peace through the Truth,' 2nd series, a book which is unfortunately so exhaustive and consequently so expensive, that it is to be feared few Anglicans make its acquaintance.

Dr. Pusey's objection concerning Alexander VI.'s dispensation is to be found in full in his 'Eirenicon,' pp. 305, 306 :—

'In a formal answer to an inquiry of S. Augustine of 'Canterbury, "At what degree of consanguinity may the '"faithful marry, and may marriage be contracted with '"step-mothers or sisters-in-law?" S. Gregory states : '"It is necessary that, in order to marry lawfully, they '"should be in the third or fourth degree," *i.e.* second 'or third cousins ; and prohibits, on ground of Divine 'law, marriage with the sister-in-law, as well as with the 'mother-in-law. This was directly contradicted by the 'unhappy Borgia (Alexander VI.) who gave a dispensa-'tion to marry a sister-in-law, and an aunt.'

On this case Dr. Pusey has laid the greatest emphasis. We ask then, did Alexander VI. issue an *ex cathedrâ* pronouncement ! If not, how does it bear on the question of infallibility, *as defined by the Vatican decree?* Did he

even issue an encyclical? No. Did he write anything on the subject? No. He gave a dispensation. He signed his name. Is this an *ex cathedrâ* announcement? No one can for a moment make such an assertion. What if Alexander VI., by this act of his (for it was an act, rather than a decree), exceeded his authority? If so, he did wrong. And for the 1,000th time, let us repeat it, that the Vatican decree does not teach the impeccability of the Popes, but their infallibility in an *ex cathedrâ* pronouncement. There need, therefore, be no difficulty whatsoever about reconciling a certain dispensation given by one Pope with a decision given by another. The dispensation might have been wrongly given, and yet it would not affect the doctrine of Papal infallibility, *as defined at the Vatican Council.*

But in point of fact, there is no contradiction, in the way of principle, between S. Gregory's prohibition, and Alexander's dispensation. S. Gregory does not base his prohibition on the ground of Divine law in the sense in which Dr. Pusey imagines him to have done. He refers to the Levitical law; but not as being *to a Christian* a Divine law, incapable of modification or dispensation. The Church did not simply take the Levitical prohibitions and accept them as authoritative *in globo*; she used them, but gave them such applications as, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, she saw fit. Hence a reference to the Levitical code on the part of S. Gregory, would not mean the same as it would on the part of Dr. Pusey. Dr. Pusey's whole conception of the relation of Christians to that code differs *toto cœlo* from that of S. Gregory and the Catholic Church. Consequently, he first misunderstands S. Gregory's words, and then finds a contradiction between them and Alexander's act. It would at best be no case of a Papal contradiction, in the sense of two opposing exercises of the attribute of

infallibility, as defined at the Vatican Council; but in point of fact, there is no contradiction at all. S. Gregory acted towards the English in one way; Alexander towards the king of Portugal, and the king of Sicily, in another. We may presume that the cases were different.

And why does Dr. Pusey single out Alexander, when there are other similar cases of dispensation? Was it that he might bring as much prejudice to bear on the case as possible?

Here, then, is the great instance which Dr. Pusey selects, and which he sees 'absolutely no way' of reconciling with Papal infallibility. It turns out to be no instance of an *ex cathedrâ* pronouncement at all, but an act of Alexander's; and such an act may be a stretch of authority; but it turns out also that Dr. Pusey has misinterpreted this expression of S. Gregory's, of which it is supposed to be a contradiction.

And now (3) let us take *Dr. Pusey's treatment of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.*

It is certainly astonishing that any Christian should object to this doctrine in itself. That Mary should have been born, as Eve was, without original sin, in view of the coming redemption, as a fruit of our Lord's Passion, which was soon to be—what is there in this truth that can shock the mind of a Christian? We are not shocked at Eve being without original sin; why at the thought of Mary having been thus conceived? The distance between Mary and our divine Lord is still infinite, and His place in the economy of redemption is not affected by hers. Her Immaculate Conception does not make her the wellspring of grace in the same sense that we attribute that glory to His Sacred Humanity. Her conception did not make her what He became by His Holy Incarnation—the second Adam. She is not the 'neck'

in the sense in which Protestants perversely understand that phrase. She is our advocate, and by her glorious intercession we are assisted beyond all thought in our path to Heaven. But this no more trenches on His office than does the Intercession of the Saints, and the manifold ways in which they help us onwards. She is, indeed, beyond them all—queen of the very angels—and we would infinitely sooner say what she is than what she is not. But that would be beyond our purpose here, and it would be beyond our powers. Her conception without the stain of original sin was not her right, as it was His, nor of nature, as with Him, but of grace. She was of human parents, and consequently needed the peculiar grace which established her in the same supernatural condition as was our mother Eve. He, on the contrary, was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary, and it followed that, as man, He was of necessity conceived without sin. Her conception did not involve any freedom from ordinary conditions on the part of her parents ; it concerned herself alone. Thus it is the very perversity of misrepresentation to imagine that her Immaculate Conception in any way trenched on His inconceivable prerogatives.

But was it not unknown to the early ages of the Church's life? No, not unknown simply, unless it may be said that the Incarnation itself was unknown to the three first centuries, and even the Being of GOD. How many saints have used expressions concerning our Incarnate Lord, which seemed to deny one or other aspect of the mystery of His Incarnation, and which, indeed, would have been a denial of the truth after the truth had been defined ! How often they used language which was harmless in them, but being misused by others was laid aside ! What strange expressions they used even of the Immensity of GOD ! So that, as Bishop Bull reminds

us, they might even be convicted of having erred on that fundamental truth. And so, although in those early times they had not sifted the meaning of their own expressions nor drawn out in careful phrase their inmost thoughts concerning her, whom they called the Second Eve, they cannot be said to have been strangers to the truth of her immaculate conception.

Hymn 27. It is not easy, for instance, to overrate the significance of S. Ephrem's undisputed testimony (A.D. 379): 'Truly 'it is Thou and Thy Mother only who are fair altogether. 'For in Thee there is no stain, and in Thy Mother no spot. 'But my sons [*i.e.* the members of the Church of Edessa] 'are far from resembling this twofold fairness.' And it is certain from another passage that S. Ephrem meant freedom from original, not merely actual, sin. Again: ii. 327*a*. 'Two were made simple, innocent, perfectly like each 'other—Mary and Eve—but afterwards one became the 'cause of our death, the other of our life.'

'Catholic Dictionary,' p. 430. Thus 'S. Ephrem supplies an authentic commentary 'on the meaning of the tradition that Mary was the 'Second Eve. We may well believe, considering how 'early and in what various quarters it appears, that this 'tradition was Apostolic. And just at the time when 'the doctrine of original sin becomes prominent in 'Christian theology, S. Ephrem assumes without doubt or 'question that this tradition implies Mary's entire exemp-'tion from the cause, and supplies us with reasonable 'grounds for believing that the doctrine of the Immaculate 'Conception is coeval with the formation of the Christian 'Church.'

It took ages to settle the exact equivalent of those high thoughts which they had concerning her, so that expressions may be culled from the language of nineteen centuries, which are at least inexact—occasionally contrary to the truth. It was only when at length theologians

were in danger of violent difference that the subject was mercifully closed, and by the Divine assistance the infallible head of the Church decided in what terms the glorious conception of our Lady should henceforth be enshrined, and unity thus be secured.

And not only was unity thus secured, but the Church received fresh light for her growing work.

There is a writer whom the present Principal of Pusey House, Oxford, is fond of quoting in his book on Roman Catholic claims—the Père Gratry. At the end of his book he quotes with horror a prayer from the Vade-mecum piorum Sacerdotum, of which Père Gratry nevertheless gives an equivalent from S. Ambrose, concerning our Lady. But he finishes his book with a long quotation from Père Gratry, and says: 'The Abbé Gratry 'is right.' Now Père Gratry has a most beautiful book on the Immaculate Conception, in which he looks upon the definition of the dogma as a glorious contribution to our knowledge. I quote it both because Père Gratry is such an authority with some Anglicans, and because it is worth noting *en passant* that those dogmas, like the Immaculate Conception and the infallibility of the Pope, which it is generally imagined must be 'difficulties' to Catholics, are, in point of fact, sources of special repose and light.

Père Gratry writes: 'O Queen, conceived without 'sin, pray for us! Pray that in these our days the 'manifestation of this mystery [*i.e.* of her Immaculate 'Conception] may become a shining light in thy Church. 'Pray that this manifestation may be such a progress of 'Christian wisdom as S. Vincent of Lerins speaks of in 'the same pages which warn the Christians of his days 'against dangerous novelties. "Shall there never be," he 'exclaims, "any religious progress in the Church of Christ? '"Assuredly there shall be very great progress; and who

'"would be so envious of man, so hostile to God, as to '"wish to hinder it? Yes, there shall be progress in the '"faith, but no change in the faith; let, then, understand-'"ing, knowledge, and wisdom grow and develop from '"age to age, both in the Universal Church and in the '"individual soul. In the course of time the old doc-'"trines of the heavenly philosophy must be more and '"more cultivated and explained; they can never be '"changed, maimed, or mutilated, but they must acquire '"more clearness, evidence, and precision, while they '"preserve the fulness, integrity, and propriety that they '"originally possessed."' Père Gratry then quotes from a pious author, whose name he does not give, the following words: 'There are many reasons why God willed 'that the mystery of Mary should dawn by degrees, like 'the day. . . . One reason, as theologians commonly 'say, is this: because the Church is not founded on our 'Lady, but upon her Son. Therefore it was convenient 'that God should first make clear the truths of salvation, 'and afterwards in the superabundance of His good-'ness should clear up others, which, though of less 'consequence, yet raise our minds to know Him better 'and to love Him more ardently.' And then this writer, who had exhibited powers of a really high order in mathematics and philosophy, concludes: 'The Immacu-'late Conception of the Virgin is a truth so deep, so 'fundamental, and so central; it throws so strong a light 'on all the truths of faith, and even on all the truths 'of philosophy, that its fuller manifestation will perhaps 'contribute to bring about that intellectual revolution in 'the Christian world and in the human mind which 'clear-sighted souls are looking for.'

Such was the enthusiasm with which the Christian philosopher greeted the final settlement of the question as to the relation between the first and second Eve.

Dr. Pusey dealt with this dogma with great earnestness. He re-published Turrecremata's immense book on the subject, at great expense, and sent it (so I understood him to say) to nearly all the bishops of the Catholic Church.

But the extraordinary thing is, that in dealing with this truth, that Mary was endowed with original justice at the moment of her conception, in view of the merits of the coming Redeemer, Dr. Pusey will have it that the definition leaves the way open for belief in what is called the 'active' conception, which he defines incorrectly.

His whole treatment of the subject led Cardinal Newman to say: 'It is, to me, a strange phenomenon 'that so many learned and devout men stumble at this 'doctrine' (he is speaking of Anglican divines), 'and I 'can only account for it by supposing that in matter of 'fact they do not know what we mean by the Immaculate 'Conception; and your volume (may I say it?) bears out 'my suspicion.'

Letter to Dr. Pusey, p. 49.

Cardinal Newman having shown that the soul is the subject of original justice, and that the Immaculate Conception teaches that the soul of our Lady was clad with that supernatural endowment (which we had forfeited by Adam's sin), and as a consequence all the rebellion of nature was hushed within her, Dr. Pusey perseveres in saying, in his answer, that 'unless some authoritative 'explanation is given by the Roman Church, it seems to 'me inevitable that under the term "Immaculate Con-'"ception," which is to be declared to be of faith, the 'conception of the body of the Blessed Virgin will be in-'cluded.'

2nd Letter to Dr. Newman, p. 58.

He forgets that the definition is for Catholics; and Catholics have their definition of original sin provided for them by the living Church. They are in no danger of adopting some theory, which Dr. Pusey can discover has

been held by some one, in some past time. And it betrays a painful unwillingness to be corrected, when he refuses to accept Cardinal Newman's explanation, not of what he believes, but of what the Catholic Church holds, and to speak of it as though it were Cardinal Newman's opinion. And even when the late Bishop of Orleans informs Dr. Pusey of what the Church teaches, and his testimony coincides with Cardinal Newman's, what can be more painful than to read such a sentence as the following? 'While, then, I am thankful that Mgr. Dupan-'loup and yourself still maintain the old distinction, I 'hope I shall not seem to you, at least, my dearest friend, 'to be presuming, if I think that in this, too, an explana-'tion, which would remove difficulties from us, would be 'of service to you, if the Church of Rome wishes the 'Immaculate Conception, as matter of faith, to be under-'stood of the soul only of the Blessed Virgin, and not of 'her body also. Without some such explanation, I should 'have feared (*sic*) that the belief of the Immaculate Con-'ception among you would be what to us seems the most 'natural explanation of the words of the Bull, &c.'

I forbear to comment on a passage such as this, which I can only describe as painful to the last degree. Dr. Pusey's 'care for all the Churches' was uncalled for, to say the least; and is not the above passage, to put it as euphemistically as possible, hypercritical and captious?

cf. Harper, 'Peace through the Truth,' p. 339.

Another singular mistake that Dr. Pusey has made is in the way he traces Marian devotion to a particular reading in the Protevangelium, viz. 'She shall bruise,' where the authorised English version reads, 'It shall 'bruise.' He mistakes the date at which that reading appeared; he omits to give its fair weight to the first part of the sentence, 'I will put enmity between thee 'and the woman,' with all the patristic commentaries on

'the woman,' referring the expression to Mary; and he ignores the immense literature on the gender of the pronoun, amongst Catholic theologians, taking either side, without feeling that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was dependent on that word, but rather on the first part of the sentence.

Still more strangely, he puts the Feast of the Conception several centuries later in its origin than is the case, and he deals with S. Bernard's opposition to the way in which the Feast was introduced into the Church at Lyons, as though the Feast were an entirely new thing, and new in the sense that it would constitute an addition to the Faith. Whereas S. Bernard dealt with it as a matter that might at any time be settled either way by the Holy See. The chasm between S. Bernard and Dr. Pusey, in their attitude towards this subject, is immeasurable, when we consider that S. Bernard says: 'I more 'especially refer this whole matter, as I do all others of 'the same sort, entirely to the authority and adjudication 'of the Roman Church, and am prepared, if my opinion 'is different from it, to conform myself to its judgment.'

De Imm. Concept., c. xii.

Further, Dr. Pusey quotes Melchior Canus, a Tridentine theologian, as saying that 'all the saints, who speak 'of it, say with one voice, that the Blessed Virgin was 'conceived in original sin.'

It is worth noticing that before the subject was thoroughly investigated, it would be quite possible for anyone to use that phrase without further explanation. Referring to the 'active' conception which concerned the parents, they might thus say, with S. Augustine, 'that 'Mary, by reason of her descent from Adam, died on 'account of sin'—which every Catholic holds to this day. Only a Catholic knows that Mary, though incurring the *debt* of the original transgression, was freed from it at the moment of her conception by the merits of the

Redeemer. Our Lord alone did not incur the debt, since He alone was conceived by the Holy Ghost.

But in point of fact, the Saints have not supplied us with such a catena of doubtful theology. The words which Dr. Pusey quotes as those of Melchior Canus are not his, but the words of Erasmus, which Melchior Canus repudiates.

Dr. Pusey also cites a bishop of the 14th century, whose words, as quoted, seem to supply strong evidence in his favour. It is Alvarus Pelagius. But the passage was not written by him.

But of all writers, Dr. Pusey has relied most on Turrecremata, the Pope's theologian, as he is described. The ponderous tome which Dr. Pusey re-issued certainly seems, at first sight, to contain formidable evidence against any general belief in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

There is no known writer, according to Dr. Pusey, who has more thoroughly and accurately sifted the subject than this Turrecremata. He has marshalled one hundred witnesses against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, from Holy Scripture and the Fathers, and Dr. Pusey has been at infinite pains to reproduce his volume and analyse and verify its contents. It lay hid in a library in Paris, if I remember rightly, and I well remember the intense satisfaction which he experienced in unearthing it and publishing it anew.

And yet, after all, what was Turrecremata's work? It was a case drawn up by him as Promotor Fidei. He tells us so himself. It is not necessary that a Promotor Fidei should believe in the truth of the side he adopts. He has to do his very best to prove it, so that each side may be thoroughly represented—one side by him and the other by his adversary. It is true there are signs that Turrecremata did believe in the side that he was

commissioned to adopt. But there is also evidence that this work, which was drawn up expressly to represent one side, does not express Turrecremata's *mature* conviction on the subject. There is a book, which may be seen by anyone in the British Museum, under the heading 'Bridget,' that contains certain proof that nine years after (1435) Turrecremata considered the full doctrine of the Immaculate Conception to be in accordance with Holy Scripture. It fell to his lot to promote the canonisation of S. Bridget. Now, some of S. Bridget's 'revelations' concerned the Immaculate Conception. She had more than one 'revelation' on the subject. Turrecremata tells us that he had read every word of these 'revelations' through with the greatest care, and weighed the *pros* and *cons* of their agreement with tradition and Scripture. And his decision is, that they are 'authentic, and full of truth, truly taught by the Spirit of 'God.' In one of these, our Lady says to Bridget, 'It 'is the truth that I was conceived without original sin.' And this does not stand alone. Yet of these Turrecremata says, 'Nihil continent, quod intellectum habeat adversum 'Sacræ Scripturæ aut doctrinæ sanctorum doctorum ab 'ecclesia approbatorum.'

Clearly, therefore, the Cardinal, on whose opinion Dr. Pusey places so much reliance, came to the conclusion that the Immaculate Conception of our Lady was in accordance with 'Holy Scripture, and the teaching 'of the holy doctors approved in the Church.'

The case, then, as put by Dr. Pusey entirely breaks down.

As one who loved and admired Dr. Pusey, it is not without a sense of anguish that I contemplate the *enormous* industry which he employed in a cause so unworthy of his perseverance.

I shall conclude this chapter with a singular instance

of similar inaccuracy in dealing with the Fathers, in one, of whose work Dr. Pusey may be considered in some sort the 'continuator.' I mean Archbishop Laud.

When Mr. Allies wrote to Alexander, Bishop of Brechin,[1] telling him that he 'seemed to see facts proving 'the whole Ultramontane claim,' the bishop wrote him a sympathetic letter, containing this question: 'Do you 'think Barrow, and Bramhall, and Laud's line utterly 'untenable? I confess that even if these are weak on 'first principles, they are strong in uncomfortable facts, 'which would be sure to haunt one when over.'

The bishop little knew how, by the grace of God, those who 'go over' from proper motives find themselves at once like one looking at a pictured window from the inside, as compared with seeing only its dark, unintelligible mass from the outside. He little knew how nothing seems to them so strange as that they could have been under the delusion of imagining they were in the Church, when they were in schism. If anyone in the Church of England is troubled with Barrow, let him read Mr. Colin Lindsay's *exposé* of that divine. As for Laud, here are some 'uncomfortable facts' on which he depended on a most crucial question.

In his controversy with Fisher, he comes across a letter of S. Augustine's, altogether condemnatory of the position taken up by the divines of the 'Reformation.' It is this. When the Donatists appealed to Constantine, the Emperor, to obtain his support against their opponents, the African Catholics, the Emperor rebuked them for seeking the aid of temporal authority, and referred them to S. Melchiades, the Pope. This was in the beginning of the fourth century, and was an awkward fact for the Anglican position. How does Laud deal with it?

[1] *A Life's Decision* (p. 318), by T. W. Allies. Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co.

He is commenting upon the celebrated saying of S. Augustine, 'In Romana ecclesia semper Apostolicæ 'Cathedræ viguit Principatus' ('In the Roman Church the 'Princedom of the Apostolic See was ever in force,') and he says: 'To prove that S. Augustine did not intend by '*principatus* here to give the Roman Bishop any power out 'of his own limits, I shall make it most manifest out of 'the very same epistle. For afterwards, saith S. Augustine 'when the pertinacity of the Donatists could not be re-'strained by the African bishops only, they gave them 'leave to be heard by foreign bishops' (*i.e.* the African Bishops gave the Donatists leave).

This is an extraordinary misrepresentation. The Donatists did not wish to be heard by 'foreign bishops.' But S. Augustine says they ought to have wished it. S. Augustine says that if only they had referred the matter outside their own province, in the way the Emperor suggested, all might have been well. Much as if he should say now: 'If you who are quarrelling on the subject of 'sacerdotalism in the Church of England, would only refer 'the matter, not to the Queen in council, but to "foreign '"bishops," to "bishops beyond the sea," all might be 'well.' If the Queen, or the Bishop of Lincoln, were to do what S. Augustine thought the Donatists ought to do, they would refer the matter to Leo XIII.

2. Laud continues: 'And after that he' (*i.e.* S. Augustine) 'hath these words, "And yet peradventure Mel-'"chiades, the Bishop of the Roman Church, with his '"colleagues the transmarine bishops, *non debuit*, ought '"not to usurp to himself this judgment, which was deter-'"mined by seventy African bishops, Tigesitanus sitting '"as Primate."'

Here is another misrepresentation. This is, not what S. Augustine gives as his own opinion, but what he puts into the mouth of the Donatists, to condemn it. It

represents the error of the Donatists, according to S. Augustine. The Donatists did not wish to refer matters to the Pope, but thought that a synod of their own nation was sufficient. S. Augustine scouted the notion of such autonomy, and such a termination of affairs. Laud has thus reversed S. Augustine's opinion, and rested his case for the Church of England on the error of the Donatist schismatics.

3. Again, in reference to the Emperor, Laud continues: 'Lastly, lest the Pope and his adherents should say this 'was an usurpation in the Emperor' (Laud seems to imagine that the Emperor was willing to undertake the case), 'S. Augustine tells us a little before, in the same 'epistle still, that this does chiefly belong "ad curam ejus" 'to the Emperor's care and charge, and that he is to give 'an account to God for it.'

This would be a telling defence of the Anglican position, if it were true. It was not the Pope and his adherents, *but the Donatists*, who said it was an usurpation on the part of the Emperor. The Emperor took upon himself to refer the Donatists to the Pope, and they resented this. S. Augustine says the Emperor was justified in doing this. Why? He does not say, as in Laud's mistranslation, 'this does chiefly belong.' It is the past, not the present tense. S. Augustine says that on that occasion it 'did belong' to the Emperor to make the suggestion he did, for the *Donatists had themselves* appealed to the Emperor. And since the Emperor referred them to the Pope, to the Pope they ought to have gone.

Would it be possible to produce a more thorough misrepresentation than this which Laud has given of S. Augustine?

See Sconce's 'Testimony of Antiquity.' Sydney, 1848.

A Donatist says, the Bishop of Rome has no business to revise the decision of a General Council. S. Augustine thinks it *would* have been better for the Donatists to

have appealed to Rome. Laud's misrepresentation is that S. Augustine says what in point of fact S. Augustine condemned the Donatists for saying.

Is it surprising, if this was the way in which Archbishop Laud read the Fathers, that he 'remained where 'he was'? If, as the Bishop of Brechin said, he was 'weak 'on first principles' he seems to have been weaker still in his 'uncomfortable facts.'

CHAPTER XI.

THE LINCOLN PROSECUTION, OR METROPOLITICAL JURISDICTION.

THERE is a general feeling that the trial of the Bishop of Lincoln marks an epoch in the history of the Church of England.

The circumstances are as strange as they could well be. For more than three centuries and a half Rome has treated the Anglican Establishment as no part of the Church. There has been no difference at Rome in theory or practice in regard to the Anglican ministry. Any clergyman making his submission to Rome within the last 300 years has been dealt with as though he had never been ordained. The question was settled at the time of the Reformation by contemporary Popes, and all the evidence that modern times have brought to bear on the question is considered to have shown that the English Church is not in a position to prove herself in possession of a priesthood. She has never produced, and never will be able to produce, the one document that would prove her succession—the consecration of Bishop Barlow. Rome does not know of any doctrine of co-consecrators ; it is merely a theory invented for the occasion by the interested parties. Rome does demand proof of an intention to make sacrificing priests on the part of the consecrators, and none can be given. Till

the day of doom there is not the remotest chance of Rome ever altering her judgment in this matter. The evidence is before her, and her mature judgment has been given.

Meanwhile an influential party has arisen within the Establishment claiming to have the power to 'make the 'Body and Blood of Christ,' and offer the Sacrifice of the Altar, and dispense forgiveness of sins. Rome tells them, that *could this be proved*, and could they clear themselves from complicity with heresy in other matters, *they would still want one thing, which is vital*, and that is authority to exercise their orders—in a word, jurisdiction.

Jurisdiction is a dry word to English ears : it is an unwelcome subject to most 'High Churchmen,' and it is one on which Anglican literature is peculiarly meagre, concerning which, too, the confusion that exists is perfectly astonishing. And yet it is the pivot on which all hangs. If you have orders, by what authority do you exercise them here, and not there? You do not pretend to be able to exercise them everywhere indiscriminately. You carve out a diocese : in other words you authorise a certain person to exercise his episcopal orders within a certain area, and not outside of it. Bishop Stubbs says : 'The Bishop has jurisdiction in himself' ('Eastern Church 'Assoc. Papers,' No. 1). But he cannot use it until he has subjects given to him. He must go there, and there only, where a vacant place has been provided. Some authority must intervene and assign to him his sphere of operation ; and when his sphere is thus assigned, he must operate according to certain laws ; he is there to teach a certain body of truth, and that alone. He has authority for that, and only for that. If he goes to his diocese, and uses his authority to teach Mormonism, he violates the conditions on which he holds that authority. He has to see that the clergy under him teach the same body of truths. He is responsible to his Divine Lord

for the way in which he fulfils his function. All agree to that.

But is he responsible to no one else? Can every bishop teach what he pleases, and act as he pleases, without coming under the corrective authority of any superior jurisdiction? No one holds this. The superior authority exists somewhere. Until the time of the Reformation, every English bishop acknowledged one superior authority over all, an authority believed to rest on Holy Scripture. He took a solemn oath of obedience to the Bishop of Rome, acknowledging him to be the successor of S. Peter, and, *as such, the Vicar of Christ.* No Archbishop of Canterbury exercised his jurisdiction until he received authority from Rome. This authority was conferred from the earliest days of the English Church. The following petition went to Rome: 'Your 'devoted daughter, the Church of Canterbury, asks that 'the pallium taken from *the body of the Blessed Peter*, may 'be granted to its elect, who has been consecrated, in 'order that he may have the plenitude of his office, and 'for this it supplicates your Holiness with earnestness and 'urgency.' The Pope then consecrated the fillet of white wool, and it was placed over-night on the tomb of S. Peter, to symbolise the truth that the grant of metropolitical power was a participation of *S. Peter's royalty.* On receiving it, the Archbishop took oath that he would help 'to defend and to maintain, against every man, 'the Papacy of the Roman Church, and *the royalty of* '*S. Peter.*'

Wilkins, vol. ii. p. 199.

'Alleged Antiquity of Anglicanism,' p. 8.

The Archbishop was then free to consecrate bishops, and exercise all metropolitical jurisdiction. His jurisdiction was considered as coming through the successor of S. Peter from S. Peter himself. So it was an Apostolic jurisdiction. And it came through S. Peter from Him to whom all authority was given in heaven and on earth.

'Alleged Antiquity,' p. 8.

It is said that once a Bishop of Lincoln was consecrated by his Metropolitan before the Archbishop had received his pallium. The present Bishop of Lincoln (supposing, for the moment, his orders to be valid) has also been consecrated by an Archbishop, who has never received the pallium from Rome. Compare the circumstances of each. The earlier Bishop of Lincoln was consecrated by S. Anselm in the times of the anti-popes, but it was not because S. Anselm did not recognise the value of jurisdiction from S. Peter's See; on the contrary, S. Anselm says: 'If I, a Metropolitan, consecrated to the 'espiscopate, neither seek the Pope in person, nor ask the 'pallium, during the whole of my first year, I justly deserve 'to be deprived of the dignity.' And this, he tells us, was because the Pope was the successor of S. Peter.

How different the circumstances under which the present Bishop of Lincoln was consecrated by an Archbishop (in name, at least) who never received the pallium! He cannot ask for it: he has no connection with the successor of S. Peter, who is also Patriarch of the West. Archbishop Benson holds a position, on any supposition, not recognised by the Nicene Canons, for they contemplated not simply Metropolitans, but what are called Superior Metropolitans. The patriarchate was there, though not yet the name. The English Church, in losing its connection with the Primate of the Universal Church, has lost its connecting ties with the patriarch of the West. The patriarchate, however, although primitive, is not of the essence of the Church's constitution, but obedience to authority is, and the Primacy of S. Peter's successor.

What has taken its place? It is this that the Bishop of Lincoln's trial may perchance force on men's attention.

There is either no jurisdiction in the Church of England, or it derives from the State.

It is, however, impossible to say there is no jurisdiction. For jurisdiction is exercised in assigning to an ordained man the sphere in which he is to use his ministerial capacities; it is exercised in assigning to a clergyman, who is consecrated to the episcopal office, a particular diocese. Whence does this jurisdiction come? Was it not this very question that produced the whole Tractarian movement? It was the suppression of Irish sees by Act of Parliament that produced the 'Tracts for 'the Times'—that is to say, an act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the civil power. It was the question of jurisdiction, the perception that S. Peter's See was its source, that by the grace of God, led Dr. Newman into the Catholic Church. It was the same question that led Archdeacon Manning and Mr. Allies and Robert Isaac Wilberforce into the same green pastures.

It has been the burning question every now and again; but every now and again, as lately, it is ignored. It came to the front for a while through the action of Bishop Gray in the Colenso case, and many of us first made the acquaintance of Van Espen through Bishop Gray's pamphlets. But of late years, there has been in many quarters a tendency to ignore the subject. 'We 'have orders, we have sacraments, what matters jurisdic-'tion?' has been practically the answer given to inquiries about it. Then Dr. Littledale maintained that most absurd of all theories—that jurisdiction has been lost in the West altogether, through the supposed simoniacal election of certain Popes. And so, since there is no lawful jurisdiction anywhere, what need to trouble about it in England?

The logical issue of the contention that all jurisdiction has been lost, is Congregationalism. Indeed, Congregationalism is in one sense more intelligible than this new theory. It is a more intelligible theory that our Lord

never intended that there should be any connecting links between the various units, or congregations, of the Church, than that authoritative jurisdiction should have existed in the Church for nearly 1,000 years, and then have been lost.

But, after all, jurisdiction *is* exercised in the Establishment. The Bishop of Lincoln has taken an oath of homage which runs thus: 'I, ——, Doctor in Divinity, 'now elected, confirmed, and consecrated Bishop of ——, 'do hereby declare that Your Majesty is the only supreme 'governor of this your realm, *in spiritual and ecclesiastical* '*things*, *as well as in temporal*, and that no foreign prelate 'or potentate has any jurisdiction in this realm, &c.' This latter portion sweeps away the Nicene canon concerning 'Metropolitans,' or as they were afterwards called, Patriarchs, with Metropolitans subject to their jurisdiction; and the whole forms as plain a contradiction to the oath taken by every Bishop of Lincoln before the Reformation, as words could express. The continuity of doctrine on this point, at any rate, has been broken. Imagine this oath being proposed to S. Anselm! Imagine the holy indignation with which he would have spurned it!

The Queen's Majesty, acting through her representatives, has told the Archbishop of Canterbury that he has jurisdiction over the Bishop of Lincoln.

Whence did the Archbishop derive his own metropolitical jurisdiction? We have already seen that Henry VIII. 're-created' Canterbury to be a Metropolitical See, p. 142 and the present Archbishop took his oath to Queen Victoria acknowledging her 'the only supreme governor' of the realm 'in spiritual and ecclesiastical things.'

The Archbishop, as in duty bound, has cited the Bishop of Lincoln to appear before him in a court, which is of first instance only. The appeal lies to another court, the Privy Council. So that the Archbishop has

admitted the right of a higher court to determine his jurisdiction in settling how the most sacred service of the Church is to be conducted. And whatever happens beyond this, one thing is quite certain, viz., that there will be no appeal outside the kingdom. And yet Lord Halifax has said publicly that 'the sacerdotal character 'of the clergy' is at stake—that, in fact, 'the sacramental 'principle' is on its trial. The Bishop of Lincoln has said the same himself. But if the Establishment be indeed a part of the Church, how can such questions as these be finally settled without communication with the rest of the Church? How can it be supposed that a Metropolitan, even at Canterbury, can be the final court of appeal on such a question? How can authority, how can jurisdiction, stop at a Metropolitan?

It is here that Bishop Stubbs (*l.c.*) comes in with his statement that the question of jurisdiction 'belongs to 'the general subject of the supremacy claimed by the See 'of Rome and the independence of national Churches.'

Yes; this is the real cry—the independence of national Churches. It was the foundation on which Dr. Pusey rested his whole argument. No words better express the defence given by the ordinary English Churchman than a sentence of Dr. Pusey's in his 'Eirenicon,' page 66: 'England is not at this moment more independent of 'any authority of the Bishop of Rome than Africa was in 'the days of S. Augustine.'

No sweeter sound to an Englishman's ear than that of independence, and, above all, independence of Rome. And Africa, with its many saintly bishops and martyrs, and its S. Augustine, in the fourth century! To be only what the church of Africa was in the fifth century is, it would seem, to be well within the laws of the Church's constitution.

But there never was a greater misapprehension than

to suppose that the African Church was independent of Rome in the fourth or fifth centuries.

We have already seen how mistaken Archbishop Laud was on this matter. Let us see how thoroughly mistaken Anglicans are now, in resting their case so much on the supposed autonomy of the African Church; but, in particular, on the opinion of S. Augustine.

They refer us to the case of Apiarius. That is to say, a priest appealed straight to Rome, and, for some reason or other, his appeal was received, and friction ensued. A Papal legate, of overbearing manners, rendered the friction more acute.

But Van Espen's judgment (a writer on whom Anglicans are wont to rely, even to excess) is absolutely correct, viz. that 'no schism arose between the Roman 'and African Churches through the affairs of Apiarius.'

There are some points in the history of the whole matter which seem to be invariably ignored by Anglican writers. And yet they are points which alter the whole bearing of the case.

One is this, that the very canons against which the African bishops complained were eventually received into the African code. They are found in the abridgment of the African canons, by Ferrandus, in the following century. Now this tends to diminish the aptness of the parallel drawn between the African Church in the fifth century and the English Church in the sixteenth. The contention of the bishops of Africa, put in the light most favourable to the Anglican theory, was not the final judgment of the African Church. 'Respice finem' is true of a Church as well as of an individual.

Next, the whole point of the discussion between Rome and the African bishops related, not to the existence of supreme authority in the Holy See, but to the law of its exercise. It was an admitted principle on all

sides, expressly stated by Pope after Pope, that his universal pastorate over the Church was to be exercised in accordance with the canons. The very Pope in this case says to the bishops of Illyria: 'Let the ruler lord 'it over us, and let us not lord it over the ruler; as we pro- 'fess to keep the canons, let us be subject to the canons.' Of course, the canons had been confirmed by Papal authority, and to the constitutional mode of its exercise contained in them, the Pope professed to adhere. The principle, therefore, for which the African bishops contended was acknowledged by the Popes, viz. that the authority of the Holy See was to be exercised according to the canons by which it had already bound itself. The bishops were mistaken as to a matter of fact, viz. the authority of the Sardican canon. Again the African Church had already, about forty years before, adopted a principle which, if it had only been observed, would have saved all the trouble. A court of appeal was provided by the canons, which they seem strangely to have overlooked. There was no court of local appeal *in use* at the time. The clergy were left to the cumbrous machinery of a Provincial or General Council, *i.e.* a Council of all Africa. But there should have been an intermediate court of appeal from a bishop's decision, more easy of access. And it was to this point that the Papal legate addressed himself. The complaint of the African bishops was this: 'Those, therefore,' (*i.e.* those bishops) 'who are interdicted communion in their own 'provinces, ought not to be restored by your Holiness '*prematurely* and *against the rules*; and you ought to re- 'ject the priests and other clergy who are so rash as to 'have recourse to you. For no ordinance of our fathers 'has deprived the Church of Africa of this authority, and 'the decrees of the Nicene Council have subjected the 'bishops themselves to their respective Metropolitans.'

Celestin. Ep. 3, apud Constant.

The words 'prematurely and against the rules' are the important ones. The principle of appeal to Rome is admitted, but it should not be premature, *i.e.* regardless of the courts of first instance; it should be 'according 'to rules.' One rule, mentioned at once, is that the court of first instance should be the metropolitical court. Bishops were subjected by the decrees of the Nicene Council to their Metropolitan in the first instance—a principle which has been in force until the present hour; to this day an appeal goes through the Archbishop. The matter is investigated by him in the first instance, and by him transmitted to Rome. To be compelled to go to a Provincial Council, or to a Council of all Africa, as the court of first instance, as it seems Apiarius would have been obliged to do, was an inconvenient mode of procedure. And Rome pointed out the better way, viz. a certain number of neighbouring bishops, but with the addition of a Papal legate. It was to this addition that the Africans objected. It was not to a final appeal to Rome, in cases in which an appeal was made from a synod of bishops, that they objected; but they urged that those cases which could be terminated in their own province should be so terminated without the assistance or, as they would have termed it, the interference of a Papal legate, of which they had bitter experience in the overbearing ways of Faustinus.

The difference between S. Augustine's attitude towards Rome, and that of the English Church, may be seen from the way in which he dealt with the next case that arose. At the very time when all this question of Apiarius was under consideration, he acted as defendant in the appeal of one of his suffragans to Rome. The Primate of Numidia himself instituted an appeal, whilst the question of the Nicene Canons was pending, in favour of one of S. Augustine's suffragans, named Antony.

S. Augustine enters into correspondence with the Pope, and entreats him not altogether to excuse Antony, and yet not to deprive him of his episcopal office. He says to Pope Boniface : 'There are instances in which the Holy 'See, by its own judgment, or in confirming the judgment 'of others, has left bishops for certain offences, neither 'stripped of episcopal honour nor altogether unpunished.' He then mentions three cases, and says that if Antony is restored without ANY punishment, he shall feel it so deeply that he has even thoughts of retiring. But the Pope decided in S. Augustine's favour.

It is clear from the way in which S. Augustine speaks all through that he had no thought of barring all appeals to Rome. He wished those cases that were to be terminated in the province to be conducted without the presence of a legate, as he considered that they were equal to doing so, and he did not then know the full history of the Council of Sardica. He did not know that the canons of that Council had taken rank as an appendix to the Nicene canons, and that anyhow they were part of the Church's law, as they were afterwards reckoned even by the Eastern Council in Trullo.

There is no thought of schism, no dream of independence of Rome, as though she had no rightful authority in Africa ; there is not the most distant parallel to the attitude of our own unhappy country towards the Holy See. This is beyond question, one would have thought, to anyone who has read, not mere morsels, but the entire history, of the relations of the African Church to the Apostolic See.

There was excitement : there was a strong feeling against the particular legate, and a real desire to manage their own affairs to a greater extent than the presence of a legate would admit. There was all this ; but it referred, not to an idea of severance from the See of S. Peter, but

to reserving for appeal to its august judgment only such matters as could not be terminated in the province itself. Africa, it has been said, was literally alive with appeals to Rome.

But certain bishops wrote to Pope Celestine in the following strong terms : 'They (our fathers) have ordained 'with great wisdom and justice that matters should be 'terminated in the places where they arise, and did not 'think that the grace of the Holy Ghost would be wanting 'in any province to bestow on its bishops the knowledge 'and strength necessary for their decisions, especially since 'whoever thinks himself wronged may appeal to his pro-'vince or even to a General Council.' These words do not mention Rome.

Let us pause for a moment. From the considerations adduced, it appears that the bishops are objecting to complaints going straight to Rome, and leaping over a Provincial or General Council (*i.e.* a Council of all Africa), not to an appeal from such a Council. They speak of cases in which it was an insult to overleap the Provincial Council, and to imagine that Rome could decide better without even the help of a decision from such a Council. They go on to deprecate the idea that they could rely on a premature sentence passed beyond the sea, where the weak and old could not be summoned as witnesses. And then they object to a legate being sent.

It was no question of whether under some circumstances there must be an appeal from the Provincial or General Council to Rome, but whether it should be irrespective of any court of first instance.

There can be no question that these bishops, if the letter is genuine, wrote with strong feelings.

But S. Augustine was not of their number. There are only fifteen names at the head of this vehement letter, and S. Augustine was not one of them. Neither does

the name of his friend Alypius, or Possidius, or of other bishops who were amongst his disciples, occur in the list. Indeed, the second name in the list is that of the very Bishop Antony whom S. Augustine wished the Pope to reprimand, but not to punish him too severely. No acts of the Council from which this letter purports to emanate have yet been found. But with this letter is the Code of the African Church, 'cooked for the times, as the writer, 'an unknown person, gives us fair warning.' He says the Council was a provincial one, which makes the matter stranger still. A small Provincial Council settles an affair which had been commenced in a General Council of all Africa, and sends, too, a final reply to the Pope in the name of all Africa!

See Bishop Ullathorne's 'Anglican Theory of Union,' p. 82.

I have dealt with the letter as though it were genuine; but I find it hard to believe it is, not because of its contents, but because of these suspicious circumstances. S. Augustine certainly never enunciated the principle that there was no relation of subordination between the Church of Africa and the See of Rome. Look at his 175th Epistle, in which he tells the Pope that he sends him the proceedings of a Council of Carthage, not as a favour, but as a matter of duty, 'that to the statutes of our 'lowliness may be applied the authority of the Apostolic 'See.' Or again, see how he writes from the Council of Milevis and asks for suggestions, since 'those who hold 'opinions so perverse and pernicious will more easily yield 'to the authority of your Holiness, *derived as it is from the 'authority of the Holy Scriptures*' (Ep. 176).

Serm. 131.

Or again: 'Already on this cause (Pelagianism) the 'decisions of the two Councils have been sent to the 'Apostolic See; thence also rescripts have come. The 'cause is ended; would that at length the error may end.'

Ed. Ben. Tom. ii. 91.

S. Augustine, indeed, makes the chair of S. Peter

one of the notes of the Church, says that succession from that Apostle is the rock whereon the Church is founded, points out to heretics the claim to their allegiance of that Church, which has the summit of authority through the succession of bishops from S. Peter, appeals to the Pope's decision as the rule of faith, approves of S. Innocent's assertion of his universal authority as S. Peter's successor, regards the Papal judgment as final, perpetually appeals to the Pope in the most humble manner, obeys his injunctions as of authority, regards his authority as paternal, speaks of his pastoral care for the African Church, entreats for mercy towards those with whom the Holy See was displeased, and implores assistance under perplexity. And he tells the Donatists that had they only appealed to 'foreign bishops,' or 'bishops beyond the sea' (his usual phrase for the See of Rome and its Council of Bishops) all might have been well.

ix. 7
ii. 120.
viii. 69.
ii. 97.
ii. 664.
v. 645.
x. 412.
ii. 627.
ii. 879.
ii. 777.

And one of the last letters he wrote enunciates the same principle. It concerns a bishop, who, he considered, had wrongly used his power of excommunication. He adopts precisely this principle—first, a Council in Africa, and, if that will not terminate the matter, *then Rome*. 'With God's help, I wish to bring this matter before the 'Council, and, should it become needful, to write to the 'Apostolic See.' How, then, is it possible to say that 'England is not, at this moment, more independent of 'any authority of the Bishop of Rome, than Africa was in 'the days of S. Augustine'?

Fragm. e. cod. vet. ad Ep. 250 ad Auxilium. Ed. Ben. T. ii. 879.

Africa was in communion with the Popes, who acted, all through, as the divinely appointed pastors of the Universal Church, and after this discussion as to the courts of first instance, it drew closer and closer to Rome, as the Arian Vandals pressed more and more upon its

[1] See Sconce's *Testimony of Antiquity*, pp. 62–75.

fair provinces. And the Sardican Canons were received into its code, and acted upon by S. Leo II., as they were all over the world.

It is, indeed, to the law of action sanctioned by the Sardican canon of which the African bishops were somehow ignorant, and which had been bound up with the Nicene Canons, as their natural extension—it was, I say, to the principle of this canon that the Church owes her preservation of the Christian Faith. It is common to speak of 'Athanasius against the world,' as describing the condition of things at one critical period. But it was Athanasius supported by the Pope. It was found that an observance of the principle laid down in the Council of Nice, as to Provincial Councils, might jeopardise the faith, if it was to be understood (as it was never meant to be understood) as making such Councils final. Athanasius found himself condemned and deposed by a Council. But he found his remedy in Rome. And the Sardican canon in question was drawn up in view of the difficulties of Athanasius. It reads thus: 'But if any one of the 'bishops shall seem to have been condemned in any 'matter, and thinks that he has not a bad case, but a good 'one, in order that the decision may be considered afresh, 'if it seems good to your charity, let us honour the memory 'of blessed Peter, and let letters be written by those who 'have given judgment, to Julius, the Bishop of Rome, 'that so, by the neighbouring bishops of that province, the 'judgment may be considered anew, and he furnish the 'judges.' And the Council's letter to the Pope gives its idea of 'honouring the memory of blessed Peter' still more clearly. 'For this will seem best, and by far more con-'gruous, if the priests of the Lord, from each of the several 'provinces, refer to the head—that is, to the See of the 'Apostle Peter.' The Sardican canon did not inaugurate appeals to Rome. It encouraged them, and pointed to a

particular mode of exercising the Pope's authority, viz., the appointment of a court of neighbouring bishops, under the Pope's direction.

The position, therefore, of the English Church is certainly not that of the Church of Africa in the fourth or fifth century.

It has thought to put itself back to old times—an impossibility, in point of fact. Such a position would be an ecclesiastical anachronism. It would be resigning all that has been gained in the way of clear perception, as to the principle of authority and the mode of its exercise, by the conflict of thought and the progress of life in the Christian Church.

I say 'it has thought' to put itself where Africa once was; but indeed it did not think about it. The bishops in the 16th century practically said to the blessed Bishop Fisher much what some bishops said to S. Anselm when he opposed the encroachments of the civil power: 'Lord 'and Father, we know you to be a religious and a holy 'man, and that your conversation is in Heaven. But we 'are held back by our relations, whom we support, and by 'many worldly cares, which we love. We cannot, there-'fore, rise to a sublimity of life like yours, or join you in 'making scorn of the world.'

They took the world with its supreme representative, for their authority, and their successors can only teach with authority—with the authority of a supreme jurisdiction—what the world permits. They may *tolerate* higher views of the Sacrament and the Ministry, but toleration is not authoritative teaching. Independence of Rome means severance from the Catholic world; and a jurisdiction which stops with a Metropolitan is not Catholic; whilst jurisdiction which emanates from the State is worldly, and not spiritual. It will never enforce the dogmatic principle; at least it will tamper with the

boundaries of dogmatic truth; enlarge its borders, to be comprehensive; or contract them, to be pure.

Consequently, so far as faith in 'the sacerdotal character 'of the Christian ministry,' and 'the Sacramental prin-'ciple,' is concerned, England has since then gone to rack and ruin.

At this moment an Archbishop of Canterbury is purporting to sit in judgment on a Bishop of Lincoln, to decide whether he may use the ritual embodiments of 'the sacramental principle.' He sits in judgment as the representative of Her Majesty. He cites the Bishop of Lincoln, in obedience to a decision of Her Majesty expressed through the Privy Council, and tells him he is accused of administering 'bread and wine' (see the Archbishop's citation) in a particular way, and dealing with the 'bread and wine' after service in a particular way. The two immediate predecessors of the present Archbishop have given their judgment against the Bishop of Lincoln's teaching. His immediate predecessor's judgment is well known. The words of his penultimate predecessor are not so well known. Speaking of the party to which the Bishop of Lincoln belongs, he says: 'It is no want of charity to declare that they remain with 'us in order that they may substitute the Mass for the 'Communion; the obvious aim of our Reformers having 'been to substitute the Communion for the Mass.' And again: 'The use of these sacrificial vestments is in the 'minds of many intimately connected with the idea that 'an essential element in the Holy Communion is the 'offering to God a sacrifice of the Body and Blood of 'Christ, which abide with the elements in a mysterious 'manner after the act of consecration. The minister 'wears the vestments at that time as a sacrificing priest. 'According to this view it would seem that the most 'important of this Holy Sacrament is what we offer to

'God, not what we receive from Him. This view is not 'recognised by the Church of England in her formularies.' 'The Romish notion of a true, real, and substantial 'sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, as it is called 'in the Council of Trent, entailed the use of the term '*altar*. But this term appears nowhere in the Book of 'Common Prayer, and was no doubt omitted lest any 'countenance should be given to the sacrificial view.'[1] The Bishop of Liverpool in his recent pamphlet, on 'What is 'written about the Lord's Supper?' (6th edition, revised) says: 'I contend there is nothing in the four accounts of 'the institution of the Lord's Supper to show that the 'twelve disciples regarded the bread as anything but bread, 'and the wine as anything but wine, when they received 'them from their Master's hands' (p. 15). 'In that ac- 'count' (the Epistle to the Corinthians) 'three times over 'he speaks of the consecrated elements as "the bread '"and the cup," and not "as the body and the blood." 'That simple fact appears to me to settle the question.' And speaking of the Black Rubric, he says: 'If that rubric 'does not flatly condemn the teaching of many modern 'divines about the presence of Christ in the sacrament, 'under the form of bread and wine, I am very certain 'that words have no meaning at all.'

Such, then, after three hundred and fifty years, is the condition of things under the new departure since Elizabeth's days. How is it that a trial such as this does not force men to see that in parting with the jurisdiction under which the ancient Church of England lived, Englishmen have now lost, not of their own fault but through the sin of their forefathers, the very idea of authoritative teaching, *i.e.* the very idea of a visible Church. For a visible Church must be numerically

[1] Archbishop Longley's last charge, quoted by the Bishop of Liverpool, p. 46.

one. But how is that one, visible Church which teaches contradictories? *Can our Lord teach contradictories?* Can a Church be His representative, which teaches contradictories? Toleration will not serve the idea of a Church. To tolerate opposite teaching on such a vital point is to throw the matter up, and say, 'We cannot 'enforce either. We have no authority to enforce one to 'the exclusion of the other.' It is to sanction the root-lie of the day, viz., that there is no such thing as absolute truth. It is to sanction it on a point where our Lord cannot have left us in the dark. Think what is involved in the question as to whether our Lord is in His Sacrament or not; and then think how a religious body must have renounced its *raison d'être* if it cannot teach the people, with authority, which is true and which is false. It is not patience to put up with this persistent dallying with the truth.

Ask yourself, reader, if you are one of those who believe that our Lord meant what He said when He said, 'This is My Body,' and yet belong to a religious communion one half or more of which denies the reality of those words—ask yourself, Why is it that Rome never falters on this subject, but goes on the same, year after year, only bringing out more lovingly and prominently the treasure of the Eucharistic Presence? It is part of that unchanging teaching of which the great Dominican spoke fifty years ago:—

'A doctrine immutable when everything upon earth 'changes—a doctrine which men hold in their hands, 'which poor old men, in a place called the Vatican, guard 'under the key of this cabinet, and which, without any 'other defence, resists the course of time, the dreams of 'sages, the designs of kings, the fall of empires—always 'one, constant, identical with itself! What a prodigy 'to deny! What an accusation to silence! Therefore, all

'ages, jealous of a glory which disdained their own, have 'tried their strength against it. They have come, one after 'the other, to the doors of the Vatican ; they have knocked 'there with buskin and boot, and the doctrine has 'appeared under the frail and wasted form of some old 'man of threescore years and ten. It has said :

'"What do you desire of me?"

'"Change."

'"I never change."

'"But everything is changed in this world. Astronomy '"has changed, chemistry has changed, philosophy has '"changed, the Empire has changed. Why are you always '"the same?"

'"Because I come from God, and because God is '"always the same."'

APPENDIX.

S. JEROME'S LETTER TO EVAGRIUS.

In this letter S. Jerome says, 'If authority is sought for, 'the world is greater than the city. Wherever there is a 'bishop—at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or 'at Rhegium, or at Alexandria, or at Tanis—he is of the same 'worth, and has the same priesthood or priestly power.' The priestly power he defines as that of 'making the Body and 'Blood of Christ.' He says that in regard to this the worldly position of a bishop or priest makes no difference.

This passage was quoted some years ago in a tract on 'Roman Misquotations,' which has the signatures 'W. B.' and 'H. P. L.' attached to it, *i.e.* the Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, and the eloquent Canon of S. Paul's, London. It is a passage which is doing duty in various quarters at the present moment. In the last of ten articles on my book called 'Authority,' in 'Church Bells,' the writer says, 'We will . . . . give our readers the benefit of a 'quotation from S. Jerome which it may be as well to preserve 'for use.' He then gives this same passage. One of the most trusted spiritual guides in the Church of England, endeavouring to prove my own untrustworthiness in dealing with the Fathers, also quoted this passage in a letter to prove that 'Mr. Rivington entirely omits all allusion to what S. 'Jerome says on the other side against the claims of Rome.'

In point of fact I dealt with the passage in four pages, 'Authority,' pp. 113–117.

showing how preposterous it is to quote it as having any bearing on the 'claims of Rome.'

'Roman Catholic Claims,' p. 111

Mr. Gore waxes quite eloquent on the unfairness of Roman controversialists in not quoting this passage. Indeed, he lays aside every vestige of courtesy when he deals with it.

And yet I have no hesitation in saying that it is a mystery to me what can lead anyone who pretends to the slightest knowledge of the original to depend on this passage as though it made against the 'claims of Rome.'

They have to maintain four things which are utterly without foundation: (1) that 'city' is the same as 'see'; (2) that 'worth,' or 'merit' and 'priesthood,' or 'priestly 'power' are the same as jurisdiction; (3) that what S. Jerome opposes had the approval of the Pope. There is not a shadow of proof for either of these positions. But further (4) it is felt by some (very naturally) to be necessary to show that this passage was written later in S. Jerome's life than his letter to Damasus, in which he speaks of consulting the 'chair of Peter.'

Accordingly, Dr. Littledale, in his 'Plain Reasons against 'joining the Church of Rome,' began by saying that the passage in question was written in the year 420, the year of the Saint's death, 'or some other very late period of his life.' And this was important, as there were other letters rather close to the end of S. Jerome's life which show that his opinion about communion with Rome remained the same. But Dr. Littledale incautiously gave his reason for this supposed date, viz., 'because it stands nearly last in Vallarsi's 'great edition.' Father Ryder, however, pointed out that Vallarsi expressly says in his Preface that he put this letter at the end of his collection, not because he thought it late, but because, 'neither on the grounds of intrinsic probability, 'nor on the concordant testimony of the learned, was it 'possible to assign a certain date.' Accordingly Dr. Littledale cancelled his assertion, and said, without acknowledgment, that the passage in question was 'much later in date' than the letter to Damasus, though he gives no reason, nor can any be given.

'A Reply to Littledale's Plain Reasons,' p. 24

The question reappeared in Mr. Gore's book when it was

anonymously published, supplying the ground of a sweeping accusation of inaccuracy against his opponents. In this book the passage by S. Jerome is said to have been written simply 'later in life.'[1] But in the new form of that book the passage is said to have been written '*apparently* later in life.'

So we have Dr. Littledale saying first 'in the year of 'S. Jerome's death,' or 'some other very late period of his 'life,' because Vallarsi put it last. Next its date was 'later in 'life' than the letter to Damasus. Mr. Gore proceeds with Dr. Littledale's last assumption 'later in life,' and finally tones it down to 'apparently later in life,' and refers to another book of his own in which he divides S. Jerome's life into Papal and anti-Papal, with no real proof, which is, indeed, pure romance. His letter to his spiritual daughter, Demetriades, shows that he was shortly before his death thoroughly 'Papal.'

Indeed history never heard of his change of mind until it was invented by the exigencies of the 16th century controversy.

Mr. Gore supplies us with a paraphrase of S. Jerome's words, which is not justified by anything in the Saint's letter. Could any unlearned reader fail to suppose from that paraphrase that S. Jerome had used the word 'see' (of Rome) and not merely 'city'? Yet this is the whole question. S. Jerome refers to a *local custom* which was in full swing when he was himself in Rome. He says he had seen an instance, when at Rome, of what the deacons, who were such great secular magnates owing to their fewness in number, did in the absence of the Bishop. 'R. C. Claims,' p. 111.

There is not a syllable to show that Pope Damasus approved of the custom. Do we not know that at the time to which S. Jerome alludes in his letter, he was acting *with the Pope* against some of the rebellious clergy of the city of Rome? How then can a scholar venture to translate 'city' by 'See'? *So far as the words of S. Jerome's letter go*, he might here be even doing his best to *promote the wishes of the Pope* and the Holy See against a custom, by which, as it seems, the deacon, in the social life of the city, took precedence of priests. This custom had the authority of the

[1] *Roman Catholic Claims*, orig. edit. p. 56.

city's life, and nothing else. 'Do you quote to me the 'greatness of your city, and your local custom, so that you, 'merely deacons that you are, even sometimes, in the absence 'of your bishop, take precedence of priests? Look at the 'custom of the wide world—it is worth more than the custom 'of your city. Everywhere, as your bishop, the Pope, would 'tell you, a priest is above a deacon, for he has, like the 'bishop, the power of "making the Body and Blood of '"Christ." A bishop is a bishop in this respect, wherever he 'is, *and so is a priest.*'

There is nothing more than this contained in the actual words. When Mr. Gore speaks of S. Jerome being 'pressed 'with the authority of the Roman See,' he is simply taking liberties with the text, and with his readers' intelligence.

But further, is it conceivable that S. Jerome was prepared to contradict, in so many words, the Canons of Nicæa? And yet this is the dilemma in which they have placed themselves.

S. Jerome says that a bishop and therefore a priest (*for that is the point of his letter*) is the same in respect of 'worth' and 'priesthood,' whether at Alexandria or Tanis. Now the Council of Nicæa placed Tanis under the jurisdiction of Alexandria. Therefore the Bishop of Alexandria *was* superior to the Bishop of Tanis, except, as S. Jerome says, in the common possession of the Sacerdotium. Did S. Jerome contradict the Nicene Canons? If not, what bearing has the passage in question on the controversy between Rome and England? What has it to do with the question of superiority of jurisdiction?

Nothing. S. Jerome could, with perfect logical consistency, repeat the passage in the same breath with which he proclaimed the necessity of communion with the 'chair of 'Peter.' Indeed, every Catholic does hold: (1) that Rome and Alexandria, and Rhegium, and Tanis were equal in point of a certain 'merit' or worth—the Sacerdotium; and (2) that the See of Rome is the 'chair of Peter,' and is the proper authority in settling matters of faith. In a word, *Rome holds to-day precisely what S. Jerome held in these two letters.* Anglicans misinterpret one, and oppose it to the other.

If only they would ask themselves, when they imagine

S. Jerome to be speaking of the authority of the *See*, which of the Popes during S. Jerome's lifetime could be supposed to sympathise with the custom that had grown up amongst the city clergy, they would surely see the absurdity of supposing that S. Jerome is speaking of the See, and not simply of the city of Rome. Will anyone suppose that Damasus approved of such a custom? or that Siricius, or Anastasius, or Innocent, or Zosimus, or Boniface, would have sympathised with it? We know enough of each of them to say that the supposition is absurd. Then why speak of S. Jerome being pressed with the authority of the See? or why quote the passage as bearing in any way on the jurisdiction or authority of Rome? It is the authority of a local custom, which practically ignored the essential equality of all bishops *and of all priests*, in the possession of the power to make the Body of Christ. It has nothing to do with the relation of superiority or subordination between the several sees in point of jurisdiction. Every bishop, whether he occupies the See of Rome (and governs the Church as the Vicar of Christ), or whether he occupies the subordinate See of Eugubium, (which was in the metropolitical jurisdiction of Rome), whether at Alexandria (to which the Nicene Canons secured its existing rights over the other sees of Egypt), or at Tanis (which was one of the Egyptian sees)—every bishop, and therefore every priest, has precisely the same power of making the Body and Blood of Christ. *And therefore a priest is everywhere above a deacon.* This is all that S. Jerome asserts. And the worldwide way of expressing this in social life ought, he says, to weigh against the bad custom of one city. And, we may be sure S. Damasus, the Pope, would say the same.

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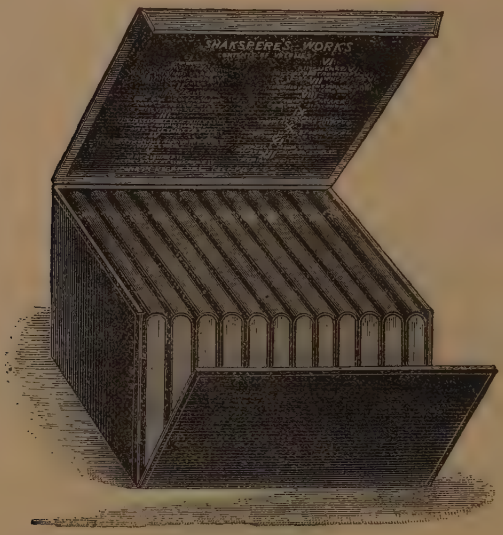

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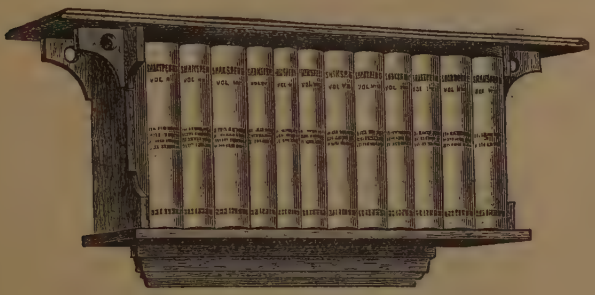

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Salar. My wind, cooling my broth,
Would blow me to an ague, when I thought
What harm a wind too great might do at sea.
I should not see the sandy hour-glass run
But I should think of shallows and of flats,
And see my wealthy Andrew, dock'd in sand,
Vailing her high-top lower than her ribs
To kiss her burial. Should I go to church
And see the holy edifice of stone,
And not bethink me straight of dangerous rocks,
Which touching but my gentle vessel's side,
Would scatter all her spices on the stream,
Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks,
And, in a word, but even now worth this,
And now worth nothing? Shall I have the thought
To think on this, and shall I lack the thought
That such a thing bechanc'd would make me sad?
But tell not me: I know Antonio
Is sad to think upon his merchandise.

Ant. Believe me, no: I thank my fortune for it,
My ventures are not in one bottom trusted,
Nor to one place; nor is my whole estate
Upon the fortune of this present year:
Therefore my merchandise makes me not sad.

Salar. Why, then you are in love.

Ant. Fie, fie!

Salar. Not in love neither? Then let us say you are sad,
Because you are not merry; and 'twere as easy
For you to laugh, and leap, and say you are merry,
Because you are not sad. Now, by two-headed Janus,
Nature hath fram'd strange fellows in her time:
Some that will evermore peep through their eyes
And laugh like parrots at a bag-piper;
And other of such vinegar aspect

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